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THE LIFE

JOHN CALVIN.

By THEODORE BEZA.

TRANSEATED

BY FRANCIS SIBSON, A. B.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

WITH COPIOUS NOTES,

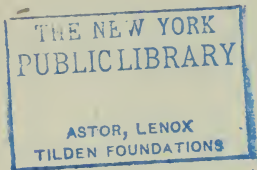
BY AN

AMERICAN EDITOR.

PHILADELPHIA:

J. WHETHAM, 22 SOUTH FOURTH STREET.

1836.



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P R E F A C E

BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

THE history of the life of Calvin, and of the times in which he lived, should be familiar to every protestant, and especially to those who venerate the man, and admire the theological system which he so ably defended. The odium which some would unjustly cast upon his name and memory, should excite us to cherish both with increased attachment. The pious and candid among his cotemporaries, and among his immediate successors in life, appreciated his worth, and delighted to honour him. The good loved him—the wicked hated, because they feared him. He was the Hercules of the Reformation, a distinguished and commanding leader among the hosts of the Lord, a brilliant ornament of his age, and of the church of Christ.

Violent opposition to religious opinions, is easily transferred to those who hold them, or are distinguished by an able defence of them. So it has fared with Calvin, and, for the most part, with those who are called by his name; at whose charge the weightiest accusations are not unfrequently laid by those who are at war with the doctrinal sentiments, and therefore, the character of this great Reformer. But the ablest defence which either can receive, is a fair exposition of both. It has therefore been thought desirable to furnish such an exposition, in a form, and at a price, suited to the habits and the means of all. Calvin's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans has just been published with this view. And the account of this great and good man's life, contained in the following pages, which it was judged would be acceptable to the American churches, is now given to

them, as a companion to his Commentary. With regard to his Commentary, it should in justice be observed, that his brevity and comparative silence on some points now much disputed, are explained by the fact, that those doctrines which were called in question, and most discussed at the time he wrote, naturally claimed his special attention, and loudly called for a more particular exposition and elaborate defence. This remark will apply with justice to all his theological writings.

The author of the life now presented to the public, was Calvin's cotemporary, and colleague at Geneva. According to his own statement, he relates what came under his own observation. He doubtless gathered much from Calvin himself, and from his immediate family and friends. This circumstance is adapted to inspire the reader with confidence in his statements, and to impart to their perusal additional pleasure.

It was judged that the notes now appended to the work, would add somewhat of interest, if not value, to the present edition. And it is hoped, that it will find an appropriate place in the libraries of such Sunday Schools, at least, as are connected with Presbyterian churches, and in the library of every Presbyterian family.

The Translator's notes are designated by the contraction Tr. The American Editor found it impracticable to place all his notes in the body of the work, and has, therefore, put a few of them, in consequence of their length, at the end of the life; and referred to them by letters of the alphabet, as they occur.

The work and the reader are commended to the favour and blessing of that God, whom Calvin delighted to serve on earth, and to whose praise and glory he now sings the new song of redeeming love.

Philadelphia, Feb. 17, 1836.

THE LIFE

OF

JOHN CALVIN.

JOHN CALVIN, Cauvin, or Chauvin, was born at Noyon, a celebrated city in Picardy, or the country adjoining, on the 10th of July, 1509.* His father, Gerard Calvin, and his mother, Jeanne Franc, were in respectable circumstances, and of virtuous unblemished character.† His father possessed a considerable share of judgment, and of skill in giving advice, and was therefore beloved by many of the nobility in

*The Romanists cast many reflections on Calvin, for changing his name from Cauvin, as it is in the dialect of Picardy, his native province, or Chauvin, as it is in French. Calvin, foreseeing the dissensions that would arise on the spread of the Reformed doctrines, with the provident spirit of a great genius, prepared his learned and elaborate Commentary on Seneca's Epistle *de Clementia*, in order to impress on the mind of Francis, the king, the mild and moderating principles of clemency. As this work was written in Latin, the author, of course, latinized his name, by writing it Calvinus, instead of Chauvin. And in this he did no more than was done by Erasmus, Luther, Melancthon, and by almost every author of any distinction at that period. Calvin, having become thus known by his Latin name, very prudently retained it through life, in order that there might be no mistake as to the authorship of his other works.

† According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Calvin's father was a cooper by trade.

that part of the country; on which account his son, though at the expense of the father, received a very liberal education with the children of the Mommors, a family of the first rank in that place. He afterwards accompanied them to Paris for the purpose of prosecuting his studies, where he had for his tutor, in the College de la Marche, Mathurin Cordier, distinguished for learning and strict integrity. He had always been esteemed in a great number of the schools of France as an excellent teacher of youth, and died at Geneva, September 8th, 1564, (the same year with Calvin,) aged 85, in the discharge of his professional duties as instructor of the youth of that city.(I.)

Calvin was removed from the College de la Marche to that of Montaigu, and had for his tutor a Spaniard of no small attainments in learning, who cultivated with so much success the talents of his pupil, naturally very acute, as to advance him from the grammar class, in consequence of surpassing his schoolfellows in this branch of education, to the study of logic, and of other, as they are termed, liberal arts. His father had from the beginning destined Calvin for the study of divinity, which he considered to be congenial with the bent of his son's inclination, because even in his tender years he was in a surprising manner devoted to religion, and a stern reprover of all the vices of his companions. Some Catholics, whose testimony cannot be doubted, acquainted me with this fact many years after Calvin had attained great celebrity.

His father, therefore, as he had destined his son for divinity, obtained from the Bishop of Noyon a benefice in the Cathedral church, as it is termed, of that city, and afterwards the parochial cure of the village Pont l'Eveque, the birth-place of Gerard Calvin the father, from whence he had subsequently removed to the neighbouring city of Noyon. It is certain that John Calvin delivered some sermons at Pont l'Eveque to the people before he left France, or received under the papal hierarchy orders in any other way than by

tonsure.* This plan was interrupted by a change in the mind of both, for the father thought the law opened a surer road to riches and honours,† and the son, being instructed in

*The *Tonsure* in the Romish Church may be received after the age of seven years. It is the first part of the ceremony of ordination. The candidate presents himself in a black cassock before the Bishop, with a surplice on his right arm, and a lighted taper in his hand. He kneels, and the Bishop, standing covered with his mitre, repeats a prayer and several verses from the Scripture. The Bishop then sitting, cuts five different parcels of hair from the head of the candidate, who repeats these words—*The Lord is my inheritance*. Putting off his mitre, the Bishop then says a prayer over the person tonsured—an anthem is sung by the choir; then a prayer, in the middle of which the Bishop puts the surplice on the candidate for orders, and says, *may the Lord clothe thee with thy new name*. The ceremony is closed by the candidate's presenting the wax taper to the Bishop, who gives him his blessing. Dr. Hurd's Rites and Cerem. p. 282.

† Calvin, in his Epistle prefatory to his Commentaries on the Psalms, gives the following account of the change of mind here spoken of :

“As David was raised from the sheepfold to the highest dignity of government, so God has dignified me, derived from an obscure and humble origin, with the high and honourable office of Minister and Preacher of the Gospel. My father had destined me, from my childhood, for theology. But, observing how extensively the science of the law enriched its professors, he suddenly changed his purpose, and recalled me from the study of philosophy to that of jurisprudence. In this I obeyed the will of my father, and endeavoured to give faithful attention. God, however, with the reins of his secret Providence, eventually turned my course in a different direction. At my first entrance on that study, I was indeed too pertinaciously addicted to the superstitions of the Papacy, to be easily drawn out of such deep mire; and my mind too firmly rooted in those habits, to yield with docility to a change in my studies so entire and unexpected. At length, however, having experienced some taste of the pure doctrines, I was inflamed with such zeal to progress farther, that, although I did not reject my

the pure religion by one of his relations, Robert d'Olivet, to whom the French church is indebted for a translation of the Bible from Hebrew, printed at Neuchatel, devoted himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and becoming disgusted with the superstitions of the church of Rome, began to detach himself from every sacred office in her communion.(II.)

Calvin went therefore to Orleans for the purpose of prosecuting his studies in civil law, which was taught by Peter de l'Etoile, the most distinguished of all the French civilians; and his progress in a short time was so surprising that, as he frequently supplied the chairs of the professors themselves, he was esteemed a teacher rather than a scholar. The degree of Doctor, free of expense, was offered him when on the point of leaving, with the unanimous and most flattering testimony of all the professors to his merits, and his claims upon the University. In the midst of his other labours, he made so great a progress in the study of the Scriptures, which he at the same time diligently prosecuted, that all those who were zealous to be instructed in the reformed religion, frequently applied to him for information, and were struck with deep admiration of the extent of his erudition, and of the ardour of his pursuits. Some of his surviving associates and fellow-students assert, that he was accustomed at this period of his life, after taking a very frugal supper, to pursue his lucubrations till midnight, and employ his morning hours in bed, reviewing, and as it were, digesting the studies of the preceding night; nor did he easily allow any interruption to this train of meditation. These long-continued watchings assisted him indeed in attaining solid erudition, and improving an excellent memory, but there is every reason for thinking that in return he con-

other studies, yet I pursued them only in a cold and indifferent manner. One year had not elapsed, before all those, who were desirous of the knowledge of the purer doctrines, flocked to me for instruction, while as yet I was myself a mere beginner in that school. ”

tracted a weakness of the digestive organs, productive of various diseases, and finally even of an untimely death.

Calvin determined to attend the lectures of Andrew Alciat, the first civilian without doubt of the age, who in consequence of accepting an invitation from Italy to the University of Bourges, settled there, and much increased its celebrity by his talents. During his residence at this city, Calvin formed an intimate friendship, on account of his religion and learning, with Melchior Wolmar, a native of Rothweil in Germany, and at that time public professor of Greek in Bourges. It affords me very great pleasure to speak of this distinguished scholar, because he was my sole preceptor from childhood to mature age; nor can I ever sufficiently praise his learning, piety, and other virtues, but especially his admirable skill in the instruction of youth. By his advice and assistance, Calvin attained acquaintance with Greek literature, and was desirous to acknowledge the remembrance of his obligation to all future ages, by dedicating to Wolmar his Commentaries on the 2d Epistle to the Corinthians. While Calvin pursued his professional studies he never neglected the Holy Scriptures, and occasionally preached at Ligniers, a small town in the Province of Berri, in the presence, and with the approbation of the head of that department. (III.)

The intelligence of the sudden death of his father recalled Calvin from Bourges to his native country. Not long after he removed from Noyon to Paris, and in his twenty-fourth year published his excellent Commentary on Seneca's Epistle concerning Clemency.* Calvin was certainly very much delighted with this very serious author, whose sentiments evidently harmonized with his own moral character. (IV.)

* Bayle, in his Dictionary, says that Beza is mistaken as to the age of Calvin when he published his Commentary on Seneca's Epistle. Bayle says the Epistle Dedicatory is dated from Paris, April 4th 1532, and therefore, that Calvin was but twenty-three, and not twenty-four years old, as Beza states.

Calvin, during the few months he was at Paris, became acquainted with all the 'zealous supporters of the reformed religion ; and we have frequently heard him afterwards praise, among the rest, Steven de la Forge, a distinguished merchant, subsequently burned for the name of Christ, on account of his remarkable piety. He has also eulogized this martyr in his treatise against the libertines. Calvin, from that time, abandoning all other studies, devoted himself to the service of God, to the very great satisfaction of all those pious characters, who then held their meetings privately in Paris.

Not long after this an opportunity presented itself for the display of his strenuous efforts in the cause of the reformed religion. Nicholas Cop, son of William Cop, physician to the king, and a citizen of Basle, was at that time appointed in the usual manner, rector of the University of Paris. Calvin prepared for him an oration to be delivered according to custom, on the 1st of November, when the Roman Catholics celebrated the feast of All Saints ; and in this he discussed the subject of religion with greater purity and more boldness, than the hierarchy had before experienced. This excited the displeasure of the Sorbonne, and the parliament was so much offended as to cite the rector to appear. At first the rector prepared, with his officers, to attend the summons, but being admonished by friends, as he was on his way, to avoid his adversaries, he returned home, left the kingdom, and retired to Basle. A party proceeded to Calvin's lodgings in the College de Fortret, but happily not finding him at home, they seized among his papers a considerable number of letters from his friends, and the lives of several of them were thus exposed to very imminent danger.* Such was the se-

* Maimbourg, in his History of Calvinism, p. 58, states that "the Lieutenant Morin, went well accompanied to Cardinal le Moine's College, where Calvin lodged, to sieze him : but coming into his chamber, they found he had escaped out at the window by the help of his sheets, which were left tied to it." On this Bayle remarks that "if this account were true, (which appears to be

verity of the judges against the church of Christ at that period, and the violence of John Morin was peculiarly striking, whose name is yet distinguished for uncommon cruelty. The queen of Navarre, only sister of Francis 1st, a princess of extraordinary talents, afforded the reformer, on this occasion, marked protection, and the Lord dispelled the storm by her intercession. She invited Calvin to her court, received him with great honour, and gave him an audience. (V.)

Calvin left Paris, went to Saintonge, and assisted one of his friends, at whose request he composed some short Christian exhortations, which were presented to certain parishes to be read as homilies, that the people might gradually be enticed to a zeal in the investigation of the truth.* About this time he came to Nerac in Gascony, on a visit to James le Fevre, of Estaples, now far advanced in years, who had been defended by the same queen of Navarre, when in danger of his life from the vain and foolish doctors of the Sorbonne, for his having introduced great improvements in mathematics and other branches of philosophy in the University of Paris, after a long and very violent opposition, and for his assisting to rout out the scholastic theology. She had also provided for him in Nerac a town within her jurisdiction. The good old man received and saw young Calvin with great kindness, and predicted that he would become a distinguished instrument in restoring the kingdom of heaven in France. (VI.)

Not long after Calvin returned to Paris, as if called there

founded on Papyrius Masso's Life of Calvin, p. 414,) Beza would be a very ill historian; for he says only that Calvin happened to be then abroad, *quo forte domi non reperto*. Varilla's account is the same with Maimbourg's, and he accompanies it with abundance of circumstances."

* The name of this friend of Calvin, was Lewis du Tillet. He was a brother to John du Tillet, Register of the Parliament of Paris, and also to another Du Tillet, Bishop of Meaux. Bayle—*Drelincourt's Defence of Calvin*. p. 40.

by the hand of God himself; for the impious Servetus was even then disseminating his heretical poison against the sacred Trinity in that city. He professed to desire nothing more earnestly than to have an opportunity for entering into discussion with Calvin, who waited long for Servetus, the place and time for an interview having been appointed, with great danger to his own life, since he was at that time under the necessity of being concealed on account of the incensed rage of his adversaries. Calvin was disappointed in his expectations of meeting Servetus, who wanted courage to endure even the sight of his opponent.

The year 1534 was distinguished by many horrid cruelties inflicted upon the reformers. Gerard de Rousel, Doctor of the Sorbonne, affording at that time great assistance to the study of religion, and Couraut, of the order of St. Augustin, who, having been for two years under the patronage of the queen of Navarre, promoted very much the cause of the gospel in Paris, were not only dragged out of their pulpits, but thrown into prison. The indignation of the infatuated Francis 1st, was so much enraged on account of certain papers against the mass dispersed through the city, and affixed to his chamber door, that having appointed a public procession, he walked uncovered before it, bearing a lighted torch, as if in expiation of the crime, accompanied by his three sons. He ordered eight martyrs to be burned alive in four principal quarters of the city, and declared with a solemn oath that he would not spare his own children, if by any chance infected with these, as he called them, most execrable heresies. (VII.)

Calvin, beholding with grief such a spectacle of woe, determined to leave France, after he had first published at Orleans an excellent little work, intitled "*Psychopannychia*," against an error which commenced in the earliest ages of the church, and was again revived by those who taught that the soul sleeps when in a state of separation from the body.

With an intention of leaving France, he went by way of Lorraine towards Basle, with the young gentleman at whose

house, as already stated, he resided at Saintonge. Near Metz he was plundered by a servant, who saddled one of the strongest horses, and fled with so much speed that he could not be apprehended, after he had perfidiously robbed his masters of all things necessary for their journey, and reduced them to great difficulties. The other servant, however, lent them ten crowns, which enabled them to proceed with considerable inconvenience to Strasburgh, and thence to Basle. He formed an intimate friendship in this city with Simon Grinée, and Wolfgang Capito, men of the greatest celebrity, and devoted himself to the study of the Hebrew language. Though very desirous to do his utmost that he might remain in obscurity, as appears from one of Bucer's letters to Calvin the following year, he was under the necessity of publishing what he called the Institutes of the Christian Religion, and the rudiment of much the largest of his works. For when the German princes, who had supported the gospel, and whose friendship he then courted, were indignant at Francis 1st, for the murder of his Protestant subjects, the only wise remedy proposed by Bellay-Langé, which he resolved to adopt, was his declaration that he had merely punished the Anabaptists, who boast only in their own spirit as the divine word, and despise all magistrates. Calvin, feeling indignant at the calumny with which the new religion was branded, seized this opportunity for publishing what I consider an incomparable work.* He prefixed also an admirable preface

* Calvin, in his preface to his Commentary on the Psalms, thus states his reason for publishing his Institutes.

“While I lived unknown and secluded at Basil, the burning of many pious men in France excited, throughout Germany, severe indignation. In order to remove these resentments, wicked and false pamphlets were dispersed, in which it was asserted, that those, who were thus cruelly burnt, were only Anabaptists, and some turbulent persons who, by their perverse conceits, were attempting to overthrow not only religion, but the whole order of

to the king himself, and if he could from any circumstance have been induced to read it, I am either very much mistaken

civil government. Perceiving that, by this artifice, the crafty courtiers of Francis designed to cover the crime of shedding innocent blood, and to cast a false reproach on those holy martyrs, and also from that time to secure to themselves, under this pretence, the privilege of persecuting the Reformers, even to death, without the hazard of exciting the resentment or compassion of any on account of their sufferings, I determined that my silence could not be excused from perfidy; and that it was my duty to oppose those proceedings with all my power.

The reasons for my publishing the INSTITUTES were:—*First*, that I might vindicate, from unjust reproaches, those brethren whose death was precious in the sight of the Lord. *Secondly*, because similar punishments threatened many defenceless and oppressed persons, for whom I was anxious to excite, at least, some compassion and solicitude among foreign nations. This work was not then so full and laborious as it now is, *sed breve duntaxat Enchiridion tunc in lucem prodit*, but a short Manual only was then published, having solely in view, to testify the faith of those whom I saw wickedly put to death, by the impious and perfidious courtiers of the king. Besides, that I by no means sought to increase my own fame, is evident from my immediate departure from Basil, when as yet no one in that city knew me to be the author. This I continued to conceal, as it was my determined purpose to be unknown, until I was retained at Geneva, not so much by counsel and intreaty, as by the formidable and solemn injunction of William Farel, which arrested me, not otherwise than if God from Heaven had laid his powerful hand upon me.”

Calvin embraced this opportunity to show that the doctrines of the Reformation were not those taught and held by the Anabaptists; and also, that it was not against these fanatics alone that the persecution of Francis was directed.

Although most of the editions of this work have the date August 1, 1536. Yet Bayle, who examined the matter carefully, says, with Dupin, that the first edition was published at Basil, August 1, 1535. Calvin's own statement accords with this date. And it appears that the custom of booksellers was, to put the date of the

or a great wound would, even at that period, have been inflicted on the whore of Babylon. For the king differed in many respects from his successors; he was a very acute judge of the situation of affairs, possessed an excellent talent in detecting the truth, was a patron of learned men, and his inclination did not lead him to hate persons of the reformed religion. But neither his own sins, nor the sins of his people, which were even then menaced with the speedy arrival of God's indignation, allowed him to hear, much less to read, this work.

After completing his Institutes, and faithfully performing the duties he owed his native country, he felt a desire to pay, as if at a distance, his respects to Italy, and to visit Renée, the Duchess of Ferrara, and daughter of Louis 12th king of France, whose piety was at that time very much praised. He therefore, waited upon her, and at the same time so confirmed her in a sincere zeal for religion, to the utmost of his abilities according to the existing state of affairs, that she continued ever after to entertain a sincere affection for him during his life; and now also, as his survivor, exhibits striking marks of her gratitude after his death. (VIII.)

From Italy, whose territories he entered, to use his own

next year to a work printed off toward the end of August. The first edition was but a rough sketch or outline of what the author afterwards produced. The second edition appeared in 1536, at Strasburgh, in folio, and was both larger and more correct than the first. The third edition was printed at the same place, in 1543, and was still more complete. A fourth edition also came out at Strasburgh, with considerable improvements. A fifth edition in 4to was published at Geneva, in 1550, corrected in many places, and having two indexes. In 1558, both the Latin and French editions received the author's last revision. Since that period, the work has gone through a vast number of editions, and has been translated into almost all the modern languages; a circumstance which alone is sufficient to demonstrate its real excellence.

language, only that he might leave them, Calvin returned to France, where he settled all his affairs, and brought along with him Anthony Calvin, his only surviving brother. His intention was to return to Basle or Strasburgh, but the wars compelled him to make his route through Dauphiny and Savoy, all other countries having been completely closed against his passage. This was the cause of his coming without his own intention to Geneva, where, as future events proved, he was conducted by a divine hand. For the gospel had a short time before been wonderfully introduced into that city by the joint exertions of two very distinguished characters, William Farel, a gentleman of Dauphiny, educated, not in a monastery, as was reported by some, but in the academy of James Fabre, of Estaples, and Peter Viret, of Orb, in the Territory of Berne, and Friburgh, whose labours were afterwards most abundantly blessed of the Lord. Calvin, passing through Geneva, visited these good men as a matter of course, on which occasion Farel, with his usual heroic spirit, after urging him at some length to continue, and share their labours at Geneva without going farther, thus addressed Calvin, when he manifested no disposition to comply with the proposal: "I denounce unto you, in the name of Almighty God, that if, under the pretext of prosecuting your studies, you refuse to labour with us in this work of the Lord, the Lord will curse you, as seeking yourself rather than Christ." Calvin, terrified by this dreadful denunciation, surrendered himself to the disposal of the Presbytery* and magistrates, by

* Here we find that a Presbytery existed in Geneva, before Calvin went there; yet it is asserted by some violent advocates of prelacy, that Presbyterianism originated with Calvin. But it is a fact that Presbyterianism was introduced into Geneva, long before Calvin ever saw that city, and when he was not more than nineteen years of age. Dr. Heylin, in his History of Presbyterianism, p. 4—9, and who was a very zealous and high-toned Episcopalian, says that after the religious system of Berne had been altered, two men exceedingly studious of the Reformation, namely, Viret and

whose votes, and the consent of the people, he was chosen not only preacher, which at first he had refused, but also appointed professor of divinity, which office he accepted in the month of August, 1536.*

Farel, laboured to effect the same changes in Geneva, which they did, after the expulsion of the Bishop of Geneva; and that Calvin, when he came to Geneva, heartily approved of what they had done.

Calvin, in his letter to Cardinal Sadolet, says, that the religious system of Geneva had been instituted, and its ecclesiastical government reformed, before he was called thither. But what had been done by Farel and Viret, he heartily approved, and strove, by all means in his power, to preserve and establish.

It is equally clear, from the above statement of Beza, that the settlement of a minister was considered as a proper act of the Presbytery.

* It may be presumed that when Beza wrote the account of Calvin's entering on the ministerial office, he did not even dream that any one, either from ignorance or effrontery, would call in question or deny Calvin's ordination. But what Beza did not probably even dream of, two doctors in America, after about two centuries and a half, have called in question, and it seems denied. Dr. Leaming may be excused for not construing the Latin of Beza; but Dr. Bowden, unless by choosing to lose himself in his own prejudices, he has passed beyond the limits of common testimony, and escaped out of the entire dominion of argument, may be requested to read in the original Latin, *Beza's Life of Calvin, Anno 1536*. Let him examine also Calvin's Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms, and his answer to Sadolet, a short extract from which shall be here given in a fair translation.—“When I was called to Geneva, the reformed religion was already established, and the order of the Church corrected. I not only approved by my voice of those things which had been done by *Farel* and *Viret*, but as much as I was able, I laboured to preserve and confirm that cause in which I was by necessity united with them. I could have easily forgiven you any personal injury, out of respect to your office and literature; but when I see *my ministry*, which I doubt not was founded and sanctioned by

This year is also distinguished by a closer alliance between Geneva and Berne, and by the accession of Lausanne

the vocation of God, wounded through my side, it would be perfidy and not patience, if I should remain silent and dissemble in such a case. *I discharged first the office of Professor and afterwards that of Pastor in that Church. And I contend that I accepted of that charge having the authority of a lawful vocation.* With how great fidelity and reverential fear I performed my duty, I have no occasion now to testify in detail. I will not arrogate to myself any peculiar discernment, erudition, prudence, address or even diligence. I am, however conscious, before Christ my judge, and all his Angels, that I walked in that church with the sincerity which is becoming in the work of the Lord. On this point, all good men will give me the most luminous testimony. Since then this ministry has been established by the Lord, if I should silently suffer it to be slandered and abused by you, who would not reprobate such silence as a prevarication? Every one sees, that I am now pledged by the high responsibility of *my office*, and that I cannot escape the obligation which binds me to defend myself against your criminations, unless I deliberately, and with open perfidy, abandon and betray the work which the Lord has committed to my charge. But though I am, at present, freed from the pastoral charge of the Genevese church, still this is no reason why I should not embrace it with paternal affection, since God once put me in authority over it, and bound me to it in a perpetual covenant." Cardinal Sadolet did not deny Calvin's ordination. *Opuscula Calvini*, p. 105. Bellarmin, another Cardinal, who was twenty-two years of age when Calvin deceased, says that none *but the Popes could create Bishops and Presbyters*—and that *neither LUTHER nor ZUINGLIUS, nor CALVIN were BISHOPS, but only PRESBYTERS—sed tantum Presbyteri.* It may be fairly left with the doctor to determine the question, how Calvin could be a *Presbyter* without ordination.

Francis Junius, in his animadversions upon *Bellarmin*, says that *Luther* and *Zuinglius* received ordination in the Romish Church—that *Calvin was ordained by those who preceded him—qui antecesserunt, eumque ordinaverunt.*—Farel and Couraut, who

to Christ, where a free disputation was held against the Catholics, which Calvin also attended. Calvin then published a certain formulary of doctrine suited to the state of the church of Geneva, which was only just emerging from the corruptions of popery. He added also a catechism, not, as it is now, distinguished into questions and answers, but much shorter, comprising the chief articles of religion. Afterwards he endeavoured in conjunction with Farel and Couraut, to settle the state of the church in Geneva, the greater part of his colleagues, from timidity, avoiding all disturbance, while some even secretly opposed the work of the Lord, which Calvin beheld with deep concern. He induced the citizens to convene an assembly of the whole people, for the purpose of openly abjuring popery, and of swearing to the Christian doctrine and discipline included in a few articles.

Many refused to do this in a city not yet completely liberated from the artifices of the Duke of Savoy, and from the yoke of Antichrist, and where various factions still continued to rage. On the 20th July, however, in the year 1537, the Lord granted that the senate and people of Geneva, openly preceded by a public scribe, should swear to the articles

received ordination in the Romish Church, preceded Calvin at Geneva; and Beza states, that they were colleagues with Calvin in the church in that city. The letter of Bucer to Calvin, dated Strasburg, November 1, 1536, is unanswerable testimony, that Calvin was at this time a minister of the church of Geneva, or Bucer would not have spoken of his ministry, nor called him *my brother and fellow minister*. This designates the time before which Calvin must have received ordination and the charge of that church.—For other proofs of Calvin's ordination, *see the able and elegant letters of Dr. MILLER, vol. 2, Continuation of letters concerning the constitution and order of the Christian ministry, addressed to the members of the Presbyterian churches in the city of New York, 1809. Lett. 7, p. 306.—Waterman.*

both of the doctrine and discipline of the Christian religion. But Satan, exasperated by such proceedings, and expecting that he should be able, under the pretext of religion, to accomplish what he had in an infinite variety of ways attempted, by means of foreign enemies, without effect, excited the Anabaptists in the first place to oppose them, and afterwards Peter Caroli, whose character and conduct will be examined in the sequel, who were not only prepared to disturb, but also entirely to destroy, and to subvert the work of the Lord, either because what had now been effected very much displeased Satan, or else he anticipated the results which followed. But as the event itself proved, the Lord had prevented his schemes, for Calvin and his colleagues summoned the Anabaptists to a public and free disputation, and confuted them on the 18th of March, in the year 1537, from the word of God alone, in so forcible a manner, and with such uncommon success, that from this time they almost entirely disappeared in the church of Geneva. Peter Caroli, the other disturber of the church, excited greater and more long-continued disturbances, the principal of which I will here merely state, since the whole history of the controversy may be fully collected from one of Calvin's letters to Grinée. The Sorbonne, which had nurtured this excessively impudent person, afterwards expelled him as a heretic, though his conduct had not merited such treatment at her hands. He first came to Geneva, then to Lausanne, and afterwards to Neuchatel, the spirit of Satan always so accompanying him that in every place he left the impressions of certain marks of his mean and base conduct.

On finding himself convicted by the Protestants, he passed over to the Catholics, and afterwards deserting them, again joined the reformers, as Farel clearly describes his arts in a long letter written to Calvin. At last he openly began to accuse every one distinguished for excellence of character, but particularly charged Farel, Calvin, and Viret, as if they

entertained false notions concerning the sacred Trinity. A very full synod was held at Berne to consider the truth of the accusation, by which Peter Caroli was proved guilty of calumny; he afterwards gradually deserted the Protestants, and went to Metz, having been suborned for the purpose of impeding the work of the Lord begun with so much success in that city by Farel. After this he wrote a letter, in which he openly attacked the reformed, that the hungry dog, having excited undoubted hopes of his apostacy, might gain a living. He was however sent back to Rome to make a public confession of his conduct to the beast itself, where, being treated with contempt, and suffering both from poverty and a loathsome disease, he was received with difficulty into a hospital, and the wages of sin—death, was paid him even by the son of sin. Such was the end of this unhappy person.

In the mean time Calvin published two very elegant letters in the year 1537, because he observed many in France to be well acquainted indeed with divine truth in their minds, who still indulged their own corrupt feelings, under the pretence of its being sufficient to worship Christ in the heart while they attended mass; one was directed to Nicholas Cheminus, of Orleans, concerning the necessity of avoiding idolatry, whose friendship and hospitality he had very much enjoyed at Orleans, and who was afterwards appointed to a civil office in the Province of la Maine. Another related to the popish priesthood, written to Gerard Rousel, already mentioned, who, after the tumult at Paris, was first presented with an abbacy, and then a bishopric, and afterwards, so far from pursuing the even tenor of his Christian course, gradually undermined, as domestic chaplain, the faith of the Queen of Navarre.

But violent domestic seditions were raised against Calvin whilst engaged in these labours. The gospel, as we have already stated, had been received into the city, and popery abjured. But many disgraceful crimes still continued to

reign among various persons in a city, which had been for so many years under the power of monks, and of a profligate clergy; and ancient quarrels, which commenced during the wars with the Duke of Savoy, were still fostered among some of the principal families. He first endeavoured, without effecting any thing, to remove these disorders by gentle admonition, afterwards by severely reproving the stubborn and refractory. The evil increased so much that the city was divided by the seditious conduct of private individuals into various factions, and a considerable number altogether refused to join that body of the people who had abjured popery. At last affairs came to such a height, that Farel, Calvin, and Couraut, (who, as we have already stated, after boldly defending the truth at Paris, was brought by Calvin first to Basle, and afterwards to Geneva, when he himself was settled there,) openly testified that they could not properly administer the Lord's Supper to citizens who lived in such a state of discord, and were so utterly averse to all church discipline. To this also was added another evil, the disagreement of the church of Geneva with that of Berne in certain rites. The churches of Geneva not only used common bread, but had removed all baptismal fonts, as they are called, considering them unnecessary for performing the office of baptism, and had abolished all festivals except Sunday. The synod of Lausanne, compelled by the people of Berne, had decided that Geneva should be requested to restore the use of unleavened bread, the baptismal fonts, and the festivals. The college of the ministers of Geneva considered it right that an audience should be afforded, and on this account another synod was convened at Zurich. Those who had been elected syndics at that time, for this highest office in Geneva is appointed annually, embracing this as a favourable opportunity, became the leaders of the seditious and factious part of the city, and assembled the people. They brought affairs to such a state, that while Calvin and the rest of his colleagues, who held the same views, offered

in vain to assign a reason for their conduct, these three faithful servants of God, in consequence of the more virtuous party being outvoted, were ordered to leave the city within two days for refusing to administer the Lord's Supper. When Calvin was informed of the decree of banishment, he said, "Certainly, had I been in the service of men, this would have been a bad reward; but it is well that I have served Him, who never fails to repay his servants whatever he has once promised."*

Who would not have thought that such measures were calculated to bring certain destruction to the church at Geneva? The event, however, on the other hand, showed that it was done by Divine Providence, partly with a view to qualify Calvin, by the various experience he acquired as a faithful servant in other scenes of usefulness, for engaging in still nobler labours, and partly to purge the church of Geneva from much of its corruption, while the leaders in the sedition were overthrown by their own violence. So wonderful does the Lord manifest himself in all his works, but especially in the government of his Church. The truth of these remarks was proved by the final result of this transaction. But these three servants of Christ, obeying at that time the edict, while all good men mourned on account of their banishment, proceeded first to Zurich, where a synod being convened of some of the Swiss churches, means were used according to its decree, by the intercession of the government of Berne, to try to influence the minds of the governors and people of Geneva. This attempt was of no avail, and Calvin went first to Basle, and next to Strasburg, where with the sanction of the senate of that city he was appointed professor of divinity, with a liberal stipend, by Bucer, Capito, Hedio, Niger, and the rest of their colleagues,

* Calvin, according to Spon, had borne his own expenses without receiving any salary.—*Tr.*

men of the highest eminence, who then illuminated, as so many shining gems, the established church of that place. He not only taught divinity there with the greatest applause of all good men, but with the consent of the senate planted also a French church, and introduced such discipline as he approved. Satan, thus disappointed in his expectation, beheld Calvin welcomed by another city, on his expulsion from the church of Geneva, where in a short time a new church was formed. In the mean while Satan, using every exertion to subvert entirely the church erected at Geneva, which had been shaken to its very foundation, found in a short time some idle characters, who, for the purpose of concealing the great iniquity of the decree under the pretext of religion, determined that unleavened bread should be substituted for common, formerly used at the Lord's table, with a view to afford an opportunity for fomenting new dissensions. And the great enemy of the Church would have succeeded in this plan, had not Calvin seriously admonished some good men, so displeased with the change as to consider it their duty to refrain from taking the Lord's Supper, not to contend about a subject in itself indifferent. The use of unleavened bread commenced in the manner now stated, nor did Calvin on his future restoration think it worth while to make any opposition to the practice, though he did not attempt to conceal his approval of the use of common bread.

Another still more dangerous evil commenced in the year 1539, and was at the same time extinguished by Calvin's diligence. James Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, a man of great eloquence, which he chiefly abused to suppress the light of the truth, and who had been presented with a cardinal's hat, with a view to enable a character, whose moral conduct was in other respects regular, to decorate a false religion in the best possible colours. He, observing the opportunity then offered, and thinking he would easily lead away a flock deprived of such distinguished pastors, adduc-

ing also as an excuse his vicinity to Geneva, for Carpentras is a city in Dauphiny, which joins on Savoy, sent letters addressed to his dearly beloved brethren, as he termed them, the magistracy, council, and people of Geneva, in which he omitted nothing that might be useful in recalling them to the bosom of Rome, that great harlot. There was no person at Geneva able to answer this work, and it would in all probability, if not written in a foreign language, have been productive of great mischief to that city in its present circumstances. But when Calvin read this letter at Strasburg, he forgot all the injuries he had received, and immediately answered it with so much truth and eloquence, that Sadolet forthwith gave up the whole business as desperate. But Calvin did not permit so long a period to elapse before he manifested the due affection which he felt as a pastor for his flock at Geneva, who were at that time suffering among their fellow citizens in a very severe manner for the common cause of religion. The excellent letters which he wrote at Strasburg, both in the year of his expulsion and the following, exhibit striking marks of his affection, in which his whole object is, in an especial manner, to exhort them to repentance before God, to forbearance towards the wicked, to concord and peace with their pastors, and prayer and supplication to the Head of the Church. He thus prepares them for the renewed expectation of the splendid shining forth of that much desired pleasant light from the midst of the most horrible darkness, and the event wonderfully proved the truth of his prediction. He then published, in a much more enlarged form, his "Christian Institutions," his "Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Romans," dedicated to his most affectionate friend Simon Grinée, as also a golden Treatise "on the Lord's Supper," for the use of his French congregation at Strasburg, translated afterwards into Latin by Galar. He handled the subject of the Lord's Supper with so much skill and erudition, that it may in a very great measure be considered the means of affording, by the divine bles-

sing, decisive answers to a great variety of most unhappy controversies, in which men of the highest attainments in learning and virtue justly acquiesced.

He had great success in reclaiming many Anabaptists; their principal leaders were Paul Volse, to whom Erasmus had dedicated his "Manual of the Christian Soldier," afterwards a pastor in the church of Strasburg, and John Storder, of Liege, who subsequently fell a victim to the plague; and Calvin married, by the advice of Bucer, his widow, Idolette de Bure, distinguished for virtue and gravity.*

* As the Reformers married to prove their conversion from the Papists, the latter reproached them, as if they warred against Rome, for the same reasons that the Grecians warred against Troy. "Our adversaries," says Calvin, "pretend that we wage a sort of Trojan war for a woman. To say nothing of others at present, they must allow myself at least to be free from this charge. Since I am more particularly able, in my own case, to refute this scurrilous reflection. For notwithstanding, I was at liberty to have married under the tyranny of the Pope, I voluntarily led a single life for many years." Calvin was full thirty years old when he married Idolette de Bure. She was an Anabaptist, whom he was the means of converting. He married her at Strasburg, in 1540. Before this, Calvin wrote to Farel thus, "Concerning my marriage, I now speak more openly. You know very well what qualifications, I always expected in a wife. I am not of that passionate race of lovers, who, when once captivated with the external form, embrace also with eagerness, the moral defects it may cover. The person who would delight me with her beauty, must be chaste, frugal, patient, and afford me some hope that she will be solicitous for my personal health and prosperity."—*Strasburg, May 29, 1539.*

This lady whom Calvin married had children by her former husband, and also brought Calvin a son, who died before his father. This son was Calvin's only child, and he died in 1545. Calvin at the close of a letter to Viret, dated August 19th of that year, says, "The Lord has certainly inflicted a heavy and severe wound on us, by the death of our little son, but He is our Father, and knows what is expedient for his children."

Such were the studies and employments of Calvin at Strasburg till the year 1541, when conferences, appointed by Charles the 5th, were held first at Worms, and afterwards at Ratisbon, for effecting a pacification between the Catholics and Protestants. (See note A.) Calvin was present, by the appointment of the ministers of Strasburg, and was of no small use to the churches in general, particularly to those in his own country. Philip Melancthon and Gaspar Cruciger, of happy memory, were in a peculiar manner delighted with him; the former often honoured Calvin with the distinctive appellation of "the divine," and the latter, after holding a private conference with him on the subject of the Lord's Supper, expressly approved of his views.

The time had now arrived when the Lord determined to have pity on his church at Geneva. One of the four syndics, by whose means the decree for banishing the faithful ministers had been passed, being accused of sedition in conducting the affairs of the state, was precipitated, in consequence of his corpulency, when he was endeavouring to escape through a window, and his body was so bruised that he died of his wounds a few days after the accident. Another was beheaded for murder. The other two, accused of having betrayed the interests of the city in an embassy, fled from their country, and were condemned to perpetual exile.

On the expulsion of such offscum from the city, Geneva began to demand its own Farel and Calvin. And when no hopes of recovering Farel from Neuchatel remained, the citizens directed their attention in the most earnest manner to Calvin, and sent a deputation, uniting also the intercession of Zurich, to Strasburg, that they might obtain the consent of its citizens for his removal. The people of Strasburg were very reluctant to part with Calvin, and though his own attachment to the people of Geneva had not been changed, in consequence of the insults offered him by men of the basest characters, yet he disliked all disturbance, and plainly refused to return, because he saw the Lord had blessed his

ministry in the church at Strasburg. Bucer and his colleagues testified their very great unwillingness to part with him. The people of Geneva persisting to demand Calvin,* Bucer at last thought it right to grant their requests for a limited time; he could not, however, persuade Calvin to yield, until he denounced the severe judgment of Heaven against him, and pressed upon him the consideration of the example of Jonah. But since these things occurred at the time when Calvin and Bucer were engaged by a decree to go to the conferences at Ratisbon, his departure was deferred, and the Genevese only obtained leave from the inhabitants of Berne to allow Peter Viret to go from Lausanne to Geneva. Calvin returned to the city with more readiness when he found Viret appointed his colleague, whose assistance and counsel would be of great use to him in restoring the church. Thus, after the lapse of a few months, Calvin returned to Geneva on the

* James Bernard, one of the ministers of Geneva, wrote a letter to Calvin, which he received while on his way to the Diet of Ratisbon, from which the following is an extract:

“The next day, the Council of two hundred convened and called for Calvin. The following day, a general meeting assembled. All exclaimed, we demand the return of Calvin, the honest man, the learned minister of Christ. When I heard this I praised God, who had done what was marvellous in our eyes, in making *the stone which the builders rejected become the head of the corner*. Come then, my venerable father in Christ. All sigh after you. Your estimation in the hearts of this people will be testified by their affectionate reception of you. You will find me not an opposer, according to the representations of some, (may God forgive them,) but a faithful and sincere friend, devoted to your wishes in the Lord. Come then to Geneva, to a people renovated, by the grace of God, through the labours of Viret; and may the Lord hasten your return to our church, whose blood he will require at your hands, for he has set you a watchman unto the house of our Israel. Farewell.

BERNARD.

GENEVA, February 6, 1541.

13th of September, 1541 ; all the people, and particularly the senate highly congratulating themselves on the occasion, and acknowledging, in an impressive manner, the signal kindness and favour of God to their city. Nor did Geneva rest until the temporary grant of his services, made by Strasburg, was changed into a permanent surrender. Strasburg conceded their request, but insisted on his retaining the privileges of a citizen, and the annual stipend of what they denominate the prebend. Calvin gladly accepted the former mark of respect, but could never be induced to receive the latter, since the care of riches occupied his mind the least of any thing.* Calvin on being restored to the church at their earnest request, failed not, on his instauration, in consequence of observing the city to require such restraints, to testify how impossible it was for him duly to discharge his ministerial functions, unless together with Christian doctrine, the Presbyterian plan of church government was established by the state, as well as a regular ecclesiastical discipline.†

On this occasion, therefore, as we shall detail more at length in another part of our narrative, laws were passed consistent with the word of God, and acceptable to the citi-

* That Calvin was not greedy of gain, is the testimony of friends and foes. This would abundantly appear from a perusal of his will. But in addition it may be stated that he publicly renounced all fellowship with the Romish church, by resigning on the 4th of May, 1534, the benefices of the Chapel of La Gesine, and the Rectory of Point l' Eveque. By a covert conduct, he might still have enjoyed the annual emolument of these livings under the Papacy. In throwing himself, therefore, poor and unpatronized, upon the hand of his Divine Master, he demonstrated the firmness of his principles, and the purity of his motives.

† When Calvin came back, in 1541, from Strasburg to Geneva, in consequence of the Council's revocation of their own sentence of exile, he thus addressed his auditory :—

“ If you desire to have me for your pastor, correct the disorder

zens, for the choice of elders, and for establishing the whole plan of Presbyterian discipline which Satan afterwards endeavoured without effect, by wonderful contrivances, to disannul. Calvin also wrote a catechism in French and Latin,

of your lives. If you have with sincerity recalled me from my exile, banish the crimes and debaucheries which prevail among you. I certainly cannot behold, without the most painful displeasure, within your walls, discipline trodden under foot, and crimes committed with impunity. I cannot possibly live in a place so grossly immoral. Vicious souls are too filthy to receive the purity of the Gospel, and the spiritual worship which I preach to you. A life stained with sin is too contrary to Jesus Christ to be tolerated. I consider the principal enemies of the Gospel to be, not the pontiff of Rome, nor heretics, nor seducers, nor tyrants, but such bad Christians; because the former exert their rage out of the church, while drunkenness, luxury, perjury, blasphemy, impurity, adultery, and other abominable vices overthrow my doctrine, and expose it defenceless to the rage of our enemies. Rome does not constitute the principal object of my fears. Still less am I apprehensive from the almost infinite multitude of monks. The gates of hell, the principalities and powers of evil spirits, disturb me not at all. I tremble on account of other enemies, more dangerous; and I dread abundantly more those carnal covetousnesses, those debaucheries of the tavern, of the brothel, and of gaming; those infamous remains of ancient superstition, those mortal pests, the disgrace of your town, and the shame of the reformed name. Of what importance is it to have driven away the wolves from the fold, if the pest ravage the flock? Of what use is a dead faith without good works? Of what importance is even truth itself, where a wicked life belies it, and actions make words blush? Either command me to abandon a second time your town, and let me go and soften the bitterness of my afflictions in a new exile, or let the severity of the laws reign in the church. Re-establish there the pure discipline. Remove from within your walls, and from the frontiers of your state, the pest of your vices, and condemn them to a perpetual banishment." Mackenzie, pp. 163, &c.

differing very little from his first, but much more copious, and divided into questions and answers. We may justly term this an admirable work which has received the approbation of very many foreign nations, and been translated in a very elegant style into the modern languages of Germany, England, Scotland, Holland, and Spain, into Hebrew by Immanuel Tremellius, a converted Jew, and into Greek by Henry Stephens.

The following statement of facts will enable us to form a judgment of his ordinary labours. In every fortnight he preached one whole week; thrice every week he delivered lectures; on the Thursdays he presided in the meetings of the Presbytery; on the Fridays he collated and expounded the Holy Scriptures to what we term the congregation. He was engaged in illustrating many of the sacred books by commentaries of very uncommon learning; on some occasions he was employed in answering the adversaries of religion, and at other times wrote to correspondents from every part of Europe concerning subjects of great importance. Every attentive reader of his numerous productions will be astonished to find one weak little man able to accomplish so many and such great labours.*

* The London Christian Observer, in the review of Mackenzie's life of Calvin, has remarked that Calvin was "a model of industry unwearied by toil; of perseverance undaunted by the opposition of an enemy, or disheartened by the timidity or languor of wavering and inefficient friends. With far greater fidelity than the author, (Johnson,) whose well-known language we adopt, could he assert, that his almost incredible labours were pursued 'with little assistance of the learned, and without any patronage of the great; not in the soft obscurities of retirement, or under the shelter of academic bowers, but amidst inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow'—An exile from his native soil, and living in an age when the mingled storms of controversy and persecution beat against the Church, he had his 'gloom of solitude;' a gloom darkened by the deepest shades of public and spiritual calamity,

He experienced much advantage from the assistance of Farel and Viret, who in return received greater from him. And the close intercourse and friendship of these two men, which excited as much envy in the wicked as it gave pleasure to all pious minds, afforded him wonderful delight. It was a most pleasant sight to behold and hear these three distinguished persons in the church co-operating with so much zeal in the work of the Lord, and flourishing in such a variety of gifts. Farel excelled in boldness and grandeur of mind. The thunders of his preaching none could hear without trembling, nor feel his most ardent prayers without the soul being elevated almost to heaven itself. Viret so excelled in a sweet persuasive eloquence, that his hearers were compelled to hang upon his lips. Calvin filled the minds of his hearers with as many most weighty sentiments as he uttered words. Hence I have often thought that a preacher would in some measure appear perfect, who was formed by the united excellencies of all three.

To return to Calvin,—he was exercised not only with these public, but with domestic and many other foreign cares. For the Lord so blessed his ministry that he had visitors

‘without were fightings, within were fears.’—*Ch. Observer* 1817, p. 444-5.

It may be well to observe in this place, as exhibiting another department of Calvin’s labour, as well as another object of his solicitude, that the instruction of youth, was, in his estimation, an object of primary interest to the welfare of civil society, and the cause of religion. He therefore, revised and enlarged the Catechism which he first published in 1537. This judicious and popular work was composed after the order of his Institutes, embracing doctrines, duties, and the means of grace. He published it in French and in Latin. It was noticed with unparalleled applause, and soon translated into many languages, as Beza states.—And the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in 1643, made it the model of the Catechism which is so justly esteemed among all the Presbyterian churches.

from every quarter to solicit his counsel in matters of religion, as an oracle of the Christian world; and so numerous were his hearers, that we have seen an Italian, English, and even Spanish church at Geneva, which seemed not sufficiently large to contain so many strangers.

Although his friendship was much cultivated in Geneva by the good, while he was regarded with terror by the wicked, and affairs were in the best state of arrangement, yet many opponents were still raised up to keep him actively employed. We will unfold his contests separately, that posterity may be presented with a singular example of fortitude, which is calculated to excite their most strenuous imitation.

To resume his history,—on his return to the city, keeping in mind that sentence of our Saviour, “Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all other things will be added unto you.” (Matt. vi. 33,) he considered nothing so important as to prescribe laws of ecclesiastical polity consistent with the word of God, and sanctioned by the consent of the senate, from which neither citizens nor ministers would be allowed afterwards to depart. And this, which had been so much approved before, gradually excited the dislike of some of the common people, and of the chief citizens, who had indeed put off the pope, and put on Christ, but only in name. Some also of those ministers, who had remained on the expulsion of their pious brethren, (the most influential however, after being accused of profligate conduct, deserted their station in disgrace,) although convicted by the testimony of their conscience, they wanted courage to make an open resistance, still continued to pursue a system of secret opposition, and did not easily permit themselves to be forced to adopt the established discipline. Nor did they want a pretext for this their wicked conduct, namely, the example of other churches, which had not adopted excommunication. Some also cried out, that the tyranny of popery was thus recalled. But these difficulties were overcome by the con-

stancy and remarkable moderation of Calvin, who proved that we ought to seek for the reason of ecclesiastical discipline, as well as of doctrine, from the Scriptures, and adduced in his support the opinions of the most learned men of that age, *Æcolampadius*, *Zwinglius*, *Zuichius*, *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, *Capito*, and *Myconius*, to whose writings he appealed. Nor did he assert that those churches ought to be therefore condemned as unchristian, which had not proceeded to the same extent, nor those shepherds to be opposed to their Lord, who considered the same curb and restraint not to be wanted by their own flocks.

Finally, he proved the difference between popish tyranny and the yoke of the Saviour, and thus easily succeeded in inducing the people to receive, with unanimous consent, the same laws of ecclesiastical polity yet used by the church of Geneva, and which were written, read, and approved by the suffrages of the people on the 20th of November.

Although Calvin had thus made a successful commencement, yet he knew that such plans could not in reality be carried into effect without difficulty; and, on this account, was very desirous to have *Viret*, whom the people of Berne had allowed only for a certain period, and *Farel*, who had been received on his expulsion from Geneva at Neuchatel, to be appointed his perpetual colleagues. In this attempt he was unsuccessful, for *Viret* returned soon after to Lausanne, and *Farel* remained at Neuchatel, so that he enjoyed almost the whole praise of restoring the church by his own unassisted efforts.

Many things occupied Calvin the ensuing year; for to omit various domestic affairs which pressed upon his attention, the inflamed fury of the foreign enemies of the gospel banished numbers from France and Italy to Geneva, a neighbouring and now distinguished city. Calvin's zeal in comforting and refreshing those refugees by every kind of dutiful solicitude is very surprising. I omit mentioning the consolation, which he afforded to those who were placed in

the yawning jaws of the lion, by the various letters which he wrote them under their trials.

Another very great and two-fold evil occurred this year; namely, dearness of provision, and famine, its general attendant. It was even then a custom at Geneva to have a separate hospital out of the city for such as suffered from the plague. Since the attendance of a constant and active pastor was required, most of them dreaded the danger of contagion, and three only offered themselves—Calvin, Sebastian Castellio,* (of whom we shall mention more circumstances in

* “Ubi quum *Pastoris* constantis et seduli opera requireretur. Beza has used the word *Pastor* in a manner too loose for a historian, and has misled some learned writers, who, from this expression, have concluded that *Sebastian Castalio* was a *Pastor* of the Church. But this is not the fact. Castalio was never in the ministry. Calvin first patronized him by introducing him as a teacher of the languages in the Divinity school at Strasburg, about 1540 or 1541. After Calvin returned to Geneva, he invited Castalio to take the charge of the grammar school in this city. He soon discovered his obscene taste and heretical opinions. Castalio was excluded by the Senate from Geneva in 1544. The following is a part of the certificate which Castalio states was given him at that time, written by Calvin: “We testify, in a brief manner, that he so conducted himself with us that by our united consent he was already designed for the pastoral office. Lest, therefore, any one should suspect, that it was for some other reason that Sebastian went away from us, we would give this testimony wherever he shall come:—he left of his own accord the mastership of the school. In that employment he so conducted himself, that we judge him worthy of the holy ministry; and to this he would have been received had it not been for some spots on his life, and some profane opinions which he advanced against the articles of our faith. These were the only reasons which prevented.” This is full evidence that Castalio was never in the Ministry, and of course not deposed from it, as Spon and others have asserted. Calvin’s conduct in this instance appears candid and dignified towards Castalio, who did not cease, in a covert and

the following part of this narrative,) and Peter Blanchet. The lot, for this was the method of their appointment, fell on Castellio, who changed his mind, and impudently refused to undertake the burthen. The senate would not allow the lots to be taken a second time, contrary to Calvin's inclination, and Blanchet himself, therefore, undertook the whole charge. Other weighty affairs also occurred at that time: for the controversy concerning the Lord's Supper engaged the attention of Peter Tossanus, pastor of Montbeliard; and some at Basle, Myconius opposing without effect, were desirous to overturn the foundations of church discipline, which had scarcely yet been firmly laid, and held two conferences with Calvin. Farel had been invited to preach at Metz, with great success, but very much hindrance was given to the work of the Lord, partly by the apostate P. Caroli already mentioned. The various labours in which Calvin was thus involved by writing, admonishing, and exhorting, and by other methods of affording assistance, are

hypocritical way, to injure and involve him in difficulties, by aiding the factious at Geneva. Castalio spent his time subsequently at Basil, where he instructed in the languages. He died poor and unpatronized, December 29, 1563, aged 48. Bayle Art. Cast."—*Waterman*.

The name of Castalio deserves a remark. He once addressed Calvin as follows:

"When I was at Lyons, before I went to you at Strasburg, some one, by mistake, called me Castalio instead of Castellio. I was pleased with it, remembering the fountain Castalius consecrated to the Muses: this made me in love with that false name. I preferred it before that of my family, and adorned myself with it at the beginning of a book." In his defence, he says, "throwing off this Greek vanity, and meeting with an opportunity, which I had long wished for, of making the change, I desire that I may be again called by my paternal name, Castellio." Bayle Art. Cast.

clearly proved by the great number of his published letters, and the testimony of many survivors.

But the Sorbonne, increasing in boldness, supported by P. Liser, first president of the parliament of Paris, whose memory is universally detested, had the courage to attempt a measure, which, to the astonishment of every one, was endured by the bishops, and even by the pope. These last, being constantly employed, like robbers, in dividing the wealth of the church among themselves, voluntarily resigned their own proper duties of distributing the word of life to such of their brethren as they denominated good doctors, provided these last suffered themselves to be treated like dogs, which gnaw the bones that their masters, after repeated nibbling, have left. The Sorbonne had the audacity, unsupported either by human or divine authority, to prescribe such articles of Christian faith, as both by their falsehood, and their very trifling character, so commonly to be met with among this body of divines, deservedly lessened their authority in the opinion of all those, who were not wholly devoid of judgment. Some had subscribed these articles through fear, and others from ignorance, on which account Calvin answered them in such a manner as to refute, with great learning and by solid reasoning, the errors they contained, and he exposed their folly by a beautiful vein of irony, to the amusing derision of all men of common discernment.

The following year experienced equally destructive ravages from the dearth of provisions, and from the plague which infested Savoy. Calvin was constantly employed in strengthening his own flock at Geneva, and in boldly repressing the enemies of the church abroad, particularly by publishing four books on free will, dedicated to Melancthon, in answer to Albert Pighius, a Dutchman, and the most skilled sophist of the age, who had selected Calvin as an adversary, expecting that he would obtain a cardinal's hat as the reward of the distinguished victory he hoped to gain. He was,

however, disappointed in his expectations, and reaped, what the enemies of the truth justly deserve, the contempt of all learned and sensible men, while he was deceived by Satan himself.* Melancthon testified by his letters the esteem in which he held these works of Calvin, and we considered it right to publish their correspondence, that posterity may have a certain and clear testimony against the calumniators of such distinguished men. A letter written this same year to the church of Montbelliard affords a sufficient answer to such as complain of his too great severity in the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline.

Calvin in the following year, 1544, stated his opinion concerning the plan which the church of Neuchatel should adopt in their ecclesiastical censures. Sebastian Castellio, in Ge-

* Pyghius was a Dutch divine, and was remarkable for his extreme ugliness, and dissonant voice. But he was reputed the greatest sophist of his time. The pope rewarded him with the provostship of St. John, at Utrecht, for defending his bull to the General Council in 1538. The Cardinals Sadolet and Cervinus were his patrons. The former assured him that he would recommend him to the pope and cardinals. The latter wrote to him on the 27th October, 1542, in these words: "As to your debts, were it in my power to pay them, you should be in no distress: and although his holiness, at present, is put to vast charges on many accounts, I will not fail to represent your services and wants, and to assist you as much as I can."

Pyghius was a Pelagian, and was stigmatized as such by several learned Catholics; and particularly by a Jansenist, who said he was full of Pelagian errors on the subject of original sin; and that he spoke against Divine predestination, and the doctrine of efficacious and free grace, with great indiscretion and ignorance.

Some say that the reading of Calvin's works made Pyghius heretical with respect to the merit of good works, and the justification of sinners. Others affirm that Pyghius examined the works of Calvin with so great a desire of refuting them, that he ran into the extreme of Pelagius.

neva, whose fickleness we have already noticed, concealing under an apparent modesty a foolish kind of ambition, and evidently belonging to that class of men, which the Greeks call self-opinionative, became irritated with Calvin because he disapproved of his conceits in a French version of the New Testament; who carried his indignation to such a height, that not satisfied with maintaining some erroneous opinions, he even ordered, in a public manner, the Song of Solomon to be erased from the canon, as an impure and obscene song, and reviled with very violent reproaches the ministers of Geneva by whom he was opposed. They justly thought that it was not their duty patiently to endure such conduct, and summoned him before the senate, where, after a very patient hearing, on the last day of May, and a calm examination of the charges brought against him, he was condemned for calumny, and ordered to leave the city. He afterwards settled in Basle, and his conduct there will be considered in another part of our narrative.

Charles 5th, in the year 1543, advancing with all his strength against Francis 1st, had taken care to secure for the two great religious parties in Germany the enjoyment of equal rights, until the meeting of a council which he promised to convene. Pope Paul III., feeling very indignant at such a proceeding, published a very grave admonition to Charles for his having thus placed the heretics on a level with the Catholics, and for putting his scythe into a crop which belonged to another. Charles returned what he considered a fair answer. Calvin repressed the audacity of the pontiff for the severity with which he had attacked in these letters the truth of the gospel, and the moral conduct of the reformers.

Calvin embraced the opportunity offered him by the diet assembled at Spiers, for publishing a book on the necessity of reforming the church, which in my opinion, is one of the most nervous, powerful treatises published in our age on that

subject. Calvin, the same year, so refuted, in two books, both the anabaptists and libertines, who had revived the most monstrous heresies of antiquity, that I think no attentive reader, unless designedly and knowingly, could have been deceived, or, if he had formerly been in an error, would not voluntarily have returned to the right way. The book published against the libertines very much displeased the Queen of Navarre, because, which is almost incredible, she had been so infatuated by the two principal leaders of this horrible sect, Quintin and Pocquet, whom Calvin had expressly attacked, as to consider them, though she did not adopt their mysterious views, good men, on which account she thought herself in some measure deeply wounded through their sides. Calvin, on learning this, answered her with uncommon moderation, mindful of her dignity, and of the several kindnesses which this queen had conferred upon the church of Christ; he blamed her too great imprudence in an ingenuous and discreet manner with great address, becoming a courageous servant of God, for harkening to such men, while he asserted at the same time the authority of his own ministry. His writings produced the effect of confining the followers of this horrid sect of the libertines, which had begun to spread in France, within the boundaries of Holland, and of the adjacent countries.

After he had terminated so many labours in 1544, he was again involved, in the following year, in new disputes of a still more serious kind. For as if a pestilence inflicted by God himself was not sufficient to waste the city and the whole neighbourhood, some of the very lowest classes, whose assistance was required by the rich in cleansing their houses and healing the sick, were induced by avarice to form a shocking conspiracy, for the purpose of infecting the posts and thresholds of their doors, and of every thing in their road, with an ointment that conveyed the disease and communicated this dreadful scourge. They also, by a terrible oath, mutually

taken in the most solemn manner, bound themselves as slaves to Satan should they ever be found to betray their accomplices, though the rack itself were used to extort confession. A considerable number of them were detected both in the city and adjoining country, and received a punishment merited by their enormous crimes. The reproach is incredible which Satan, by this artifice, raised against Calvin and the city of Geneva, as if the prince of darkness plainly reigned in that city where he was most violently opposed.

This year was disgraced by a massacre of unparalleled cruelty, occasioned by an edict which the parliament of Aix issued against the Waldenses of Merindol and Cabrier, and the whole of that tract of country; it was not confined to one or two sufferers, but extended to the whole people without distinction of age or sex, and the villages were consumed in one common conflagration. These evils pressed more heavily on Calvin, who afforded solace and succour to the few refugees that fled to Geneva, because he had on a former occasion used means, by sending letters and supplying pastors, to have them purely instructed in the gospel, and by his intercession with the German princes and the Swiss states, had preserved them from impending danger.

The unhappy controversy respecting the Supper of our Lord was at this time again renewed. Osiander, a proud man and of a strange disposition, stirred up the flame of discord, which seemed to be extinguished, and Calvin used every exertion in his power to terminate it, as appears by his letters written to Melancthon, and published under my inspection. But Osiander's want of moderation prevented him from listening to the sound advice of these two great men, by whom he is denominated Pericles.

In the mean time many excellent characters fell victims to the plague which raged in the city. But Calvin thundered with all his power from the pulpit against the vices of some, and particularly against fornication, which the scourge of the plague could not terminate. The good supported him, but

the efforts of the pious were weakened by a few demagogues, until, as will be stated in its proper place, they voluntarily plunged themselves in irretrievable ruin. These evils were increased by the unseasonable disputes concerning the right of the city; nor could faithful pastors in other parts of Europe endure to see church property, taken from the Roman hierarchy, improperly managed in many places. Clamours and complaints were at that time very frequent on this subject, and much labour devoted to it both in writing and speaking, but generally without effect. Calvin, indeed, openly professed that he was by no means a friend to so many sacriligious proceedings, which he knew must finally meet with a most severe divine scourge, but acknowledged the just judgment of the Lord God because he would not allow revenues, acquired formerly by priests in so base a manner, to be brought into the treasuries of the church.

Calvin felt deep concern this year, both from a domestic and foreign cause. A Genevese of the name of Troillet, young, indeed, but artful, after having counterfeited for some time the hermit in France, had returned to Geneva. Calvin, distinguished above most men for his sagacious penetration into character, developed this person, who concealed himself in the commencement under the appearance of piety. Calvin first admonished him mildly, but afterwards rebuked him more freely, when his conduct in the congregation was distinguished by insolence and ambition. He did not bear such reproof properly, and endeavoured to secure the aid and zealous favour of such as were generally condemned by Calvin on account of their vices. On the death of one of the pastors, Troillet openly endeavoured, with the assistance of his friends, to canvass for the office of a minister of the gospel, when the appointment of a successor was under consideration. In short, the senate interposed its authority, and ordered him to be preferred. Calvin and his colleagues opposed the measure, proving how much such a system of canvassing was contrary to the word of God, and obtained, with

the approbation of the senate, the enforcement of the written laws of the church.

There were also at that time in France certain persons, who, having renounced the protestant religion at the commencement, through fear of persecution, had begun afterwards so far to flatter themselves as to deny there was any sin in being present with their bodies only at the celebration of the mass, provided they embraced the true religion in their hearts. Calvin, whom they blamed for the excess of his severity, plainly refuted, by his clear and elegant writings, this very pernicious error, which the fathers had long ago condemned. He annexed also the opinions of the most learned reformers, Philip Melancthon, Peter Martyr,* Bucer, and the church of Zurich, and so far restrained the progress of this error, that the Nicodemites, which name they had ac-

* Bucer, in a letter to Calvin, dated Strasburg, October 28, 1542, says: "Our literary school is well supplied; a man has arrived here from Italy, learned in Greek, Hebrew and Latin, happily versed in the scriptures, 44 years of age, with good talents and a penetrating genius; his name is PETER MARTYR. He was President of the Canons of Lucca in Lombardy.

Martyr continued at Strasburg, until, at the invitation of Cranmer in the King's name, he went over to England, in November 1547. In 1549, he was appointed divinity Professor at Oxford, by Edward VI. He married at Strasburg a nun who, like himself, had escaped from the superstitions of a convent. She died during his residence at Oxford. On the accession of Queen Mary in 1553, after Martyr returned to Strasburg, during the Marian persecution, the bones of his wife were dug up by the virulent Papists, and buried in a dung hill. Martyr was, for the seven last years of his life, Professor at Zurich. He was at the Convention at Poissy, in 1561, with Theodore Beza, and died soon after his return in 1562, aged 63. He was learned, zealous, sincere and humble. He wrote Commentaries on the Scriptures, and against the Papists, and *on the Lord's Supper*, in reply to Gardner, Bishop of Winchester Burnet, vol. 2, p. 50.

quired by adducing the example of this most holy person as a pretext for their false sentiments, he fell into bad repute in the church.

The year 1546 was not less stormy than the past. For it was necessary to fortify the minds of the people against the frequent accounts circulated concerning the designs of Charles 5th in opposition to religion, and against the fraudulent schemes of the pope, who was reported to employ a number of emissaries as incendiaries. The state of the city itself also particularly excited his commiseration, for the petulance of the wicked, so far from suffering itself to be subdued by so many scourges, became still more insolent, and at last broke through all restraints. For Ami Perrin, a very audacious and ambitious character, denominated on this account by Calvin, in his letters, the mock Cæsar, had succeeded, by the suffrages of the people, in obtaining the nomination of captain-general, and some time before had become leader of the opposers of order. This man imagining, as was the fact, that neither he nor his accomplices could succeed, while the laws were maintained with vigour, and Calvin in particular continued to thunder against their wanton and disorderly conduct, began openly to discover this year what he and his associates had long projected. He continued silent for a while, when he had been punished and crushed by the authority of the senate, merely with a view to disclose afterwards his wickedness in a more open manner. For, a short period having elapsed, one of the senators, secretly instigated, as is supposed, by two ministers addicted to wine, who had good reason, as well as others, to dread the severity of the laws, accused Calvin of false doctrine before a considerably large assembly. Calvin continued unmoved by such attacks. This senator was tried, condemned, branded with infamy by his own body, the two false pastors were conjointly suspended from their office, and the taverns deprived of their license. Such was the result of the machinations of the wicked, who were completely disappointed.

The general conflagration which had been smothered this year, burst forth in 1547, which was the most calamitous period during that age. The churches in Germany were reduced to the greatest extremity, her princes and cities either surrendered to the emperor, or were taken by force, and a work, which had been raised by the unwearied labours of so many years, seemed to be overthrown in one moment. Many considered those happy, who had been rescued by a timely death from such dreadful tumults. Who, then, can picture the anguish that wrung the pious breast of Calvin in those public calamities by which so many churches were overwhelmed? When the churches enjoyed the most profound peace, our reformer felt as ardent an affection for the most distant, as if the weight of them all rested on his own shoulders. What pungency of grief must he at that time have felt, when he beheld those illustrious characters, Melancthon, Bucer, Martyr, his dearest friends, exposed to such imminent danger, as to be placed on the very brink of death! His writings, however, testify, and the fact itself proved, that Calvin overcame these storms with the greatest fortitude. Though persecuted in a very severe manner by the wicked at Geneva, he did not move a step from the high station of constancy and integrity which he had taken.

To return to Calvin's domestic disputes,—when his whole time was employed in proving that the gospel he preached was not a mere speculative doctrine, but consisted in a pious Christian life, he necessarily incurred the enmity of those, who had proclaimed war not only against all piety and virtue, but even against their very country. Perrin, as already stated, still continued their leader, for his own condition and the state of his associates were so bad, that it was evident they must make the most desperate efforts; and the abandoned openly declared it was necessary for the cognizance of all questions under discussion, that they should be removed from the presbytery to the senate. The presbytery, on the other hand, insisted that the laws established concerning church discipline

were agreeable to the word of God, and they implored the aid of the senate to prevent the church from receiving any injury. The senate determined it necessary to ratify the laws of the church, and confirmed them accordingly. After Perin had exposed himself to very great danger by his own audacious conduct, the whole affair was settled by expelling him from the senate, depriving him of his captaincy, and reducing him to a mere private station. Though all these transactions were carried on before the magistrates, yet it is impossible to state how much trouble they occasioned Calvin. On one occasion there was great danger of blood being shed in the court itself, where the council of two hundred was assembled, by the swords of the contending parties. Calvin coming up with his colleagues, at the risk of his own life, since the faction of the wicked was chiefly aimed against him, quelled the riot. He still persisted to hold up to detestation, in the most solemn manner, their criminal conduct, and to rebuke them in the strongest terms according to their deserts.* Nor was his denunciation of God's judgment

*To allay the increasing evils, this council of two hundred were convoked to meet on the 16th day of September, 1547. On the preceeding day, Calvin informed his colleagues, that tumults would probably be excited by the factious, and that it was his intention to be present at the meeting. Accordingly, Calvin accompanied by his colleagues, proceeded to the Council house, but arrived before the appointed time. Seeing many persons walking about the door, they retired through an adjoining gate, and were unnoticed. They had not been long in this retreat, before they heard loud and confused clamours, which instantly increased with all the signs of sedition. Calvin ran to the place, and though the aspect of things was terrible, he advanced into the midst of the violent and noisy crowd. His presence struck them with astonishment; his friends pressed around him as a defence; he raised his voice, and solemnly declared, that he came to oppose his body to their swords, and if they were determined to shed any blood, he exhorted them to begin with his. The heat of the sedition abated.

vain, since a certain person was then apprehended for writing a libel, and fixing it to the pulpit, in which he produced many base charges against the ministers, and declared, in a written document, that Calvin himself ought to be cast into the Rhone. He was summoned to trial, convicted in an unexpected manner of a great variety of other blasphemous proceedings, and beheaded. After his death a paper was found professedly written with his own hand against Moses, and consequently Christ, and his impious conduct left no doubt of his having also infected some others.

Calvin wrote, this year, in the midst of all these contentions, his “Antidote against the seven Sessions of the Council of Trent.” He also sent an epistle to the church of Rouen, fortifying them against the artifices of a certain Franciscan preacher, who was disseminating the poison of the errors of Carpocrates, that were renewed by the libertines.

The following year, 1548, the disorders of the factious again broke forth in Geneva by the device of Satan, who made Farel and Viret instrumental to this result; a fact scarcely credible, because they were most desirous to cure all the evils. These ministers came to Geneva in the beginning of the year, and addressed the senate in a very solemn manner

On entering the Senate chamber, he found a more violent contest. He pressed between the parties, when they were upon the point of drawing their swords for mutual slaughter, in the very sanctuary of Justice. Like an angel of peace, he arrested the fury of the faction, and having brought the assembly to their seats, he addressed them in a continued and impressive oration. He pointed out to the seditious their crimes, and the public evils which must inevitably follow upon indulging in such immoralities and factions; and denounced upon them the judgments of God, if they should persist in such iniquity. The effects of this address were so deeply felt by the seditious themselves, that they commended him for his interposition, which had arrested their bloody attack upon the senate. —See Calvin’s letter to Viret, dated, *Sept. 17th*, 1547.

on the necessity of healing their contentions, since Calvin only demanded reformation of manners. Perrin, with his associates, that he might recover his former situation, pretended to agree to whatever was proposed. Every thing now appeared to be amicably arranged, but the result afterwards showed that he had only imposed upon the pious. On Perrin's restoration, the wickedness of the abandoned citizens went to such a height, that they openly used certain breastplates, cut in the form of a cross, as a mark for distinguishing each other; some called their dogs Calvin, others transformed Calvin into Cain; a considerable number declared they refrained, in consequence of their hatred of Calvin, from the Lord's Supper. Our reformer and his colleagues rebuked all this conduct with much boldness, summoned them to the senate, and the innocence of the pious was easily victorious. An amnesty was finally again ratified on the 18th of December by a solemn oath. The event proved that Perrin had been dissembling in the whole of his late conduct, and the only object he had in view was to rise to the syndicate, for the purpose of more completely opening to himself and his associates a still more certain access to these offices, which might enable them to involve all in one common ruin.

Calvin was not diverted from his labours by these disputes, but he illustrated six epistles of St. Paul, by very learned commentaries, as if he had enjoyed the utmost leisure. He refuted what was termed the "Interim," that was published with a view to ruin the German churches, by a work written with great force, which pointed out the true method for restoring the church. He exposed, in a very elegant paper, the falsehood and vanity of judicial astrology, of which many at that time entertained a high opinion. Having received an obliging letter from Brentius, banished to Basle, he consoled him with much tenderness and friendship, and I wish Brentius had not broken the bonds of this union. He then also candidly exhorted Bucer, when banished to England, to speak and write his opinion more openly concerning the

Lord's Supper, and comforted him in a friendly manner. At the same time he took great pains to give advice, by letter, to the Duke of Somerset, protector of England, who afterwards very unjustly suffered an ignominious death; and had Calvin's plans been followed, the church of England would in all probability have escaped many storms. (IX.)

The church of Geneva wonderfully increased in the midst of these disputes, and this grieved Satan and bad men to a very great degree. Calvin's zeal on the other hand was very much increased, by entertaining, in the kindest manner, those who were banished from their country on account of religion. The faction of the seditious, though not entirely extinguished, was much subdued the following year, and afforded him more leisure for attending to the distresses of the suffering protestants. He required, indeed, a cessation from such disputes, for he now sustained a very severe domestic affliction in the loss of his wife, who was distinguished by a most excellent and choice character.* He endured his trial on this

* The companion of Calvin, who had for about nine years cherished him in the most affectionate manner, was removed by death in March, 1549. She was comely in her person,* amiable in her manners, and devoutly humble in her religious duties; and her death was to Calvin, amidst his labours and infirmities, an irreparable loss. His strong and habitual faith, however, enabled him to submit, with exemplary calmness and constancy, to this chastising stroke from the hand of divine sovereignty. On this interesting occasion, he shall speak for himself.

“ Calvin to Farel.

“ The report of the death of my wife has doubtless reached you before this. I use every exertion in my power not to be entirely overcome with heaviness of heart. My friends, who are about me, omit nothing that can afford any alleviation to the depression of my mind. When your brother left us, we almost despaired of

* Bayle.

occasion with such constancy as to leave a singular example of fortitude to the whole church in a similar dispensation of Providence. (X.)

her life. On Tuesday, all the brethren being present, we united in prayer. Pouppinus then, in the name of the rest, exhorted her to faith and patience. In a few words, (for she was very feeble,) she gave evidence of the state of her mind. After this I added an exhortation, such as I thought suitable to the occasion. As she had not mentioned her children, I was apprehensive that from delicacy she might cherish in her mind an anxiety more painful than her disease; and I declared before the brethren, that I would take the same care of them as if they were my own. She answered, *I have already commended them to the Lord.* When I observed that this did not lessen my obligation of duty to them, she answered immediately, *If the Lord takes them under his protection, I know they will be entrusted to your care.* The elevation of her mind was so great that she appeared to be raised above this world. On the day when she gave up her soul to the Lord, our brother Borgonius, a little before 6 o'clock, opened to her the consolations of the Gospel, during which she frequently exclaimed, so that we all perceived that her affections were on things above. The words she uttered were, *O glorious resurrection!—God of Abraham, and of all our fathers!—The faithful have, for so many ages, hoped in thee, and not one has been disappointed——I will also hope.* These short sentences she rather ejaculated, than pronounced with a continued voice. She did not catch them from others. But by these few words she manifested the thoughts which exercised her mind, and the meditations which she cherished in her own heart. At 6 o'clock I was compelled to leave home. After seven they shifted her position, and she immediately began to fail. Perceiving her voice beginning to falter, she said, *Let us pray—Let us pray—Pray for me, all of you.*—At this time I entered the house. She was unable to speak, but gave signs of an agitated mind. I said a few things concerning the grace of Christ, the hope of eternal life, our domestic intercourse and fellowship, and our departure from this society and union. I retired to pray. She was attentive to the instruction, and heard the prayers with

The churches of Saxony not being agreed respecting the nature and use of indifferent things, Calvin was this year

a sound mind. Before 8 o'clock she breathed her last so placidly, that those present could not distinguish the moment which closed her life. I now suppress the sorrow of my heart, and give myself no remission from my official duties. But the Lord still exercises me with other troubles. Farewell, dear and faithful brother. May the Lord Jesus strengthen you by his spirit, and me also in this so great calamity, which would inevitably have overpowered me unless from heaven he had stretched forth his hand, whose office it is to raise the fallen, to strengthen the weak, and to refresh the weary. Salute all the brethren and your whole family. "Yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

"GENEVA, April 11, 1549."

"Calvin to Viret."

"Although the death of my wife is a very severe affliction, yet I repress, as much as I am able, the sorrow of my heart. My friends also afford every anxious assistance, yet with all our exertions we effect less, in assuaging my grief than I could wish; but still the consolation which I do obtain I cannot express. You know the tenderness of my mind, or rather with what effeminacy I yield under trials; so that without the exercise of much moderation, I could not have supported the pressure of my sorrow. Certainly it is no common occasion of grief. I am deprived of a most amiable partner, who, whatever might have occurred of extreme endurance, would have been my willing companion, not only in exile and poverty, but even in death. While she lived she was indeed the faithful helper of my ministry, and on no account did I ever experience from her any interruption.

"For your friendly consolation I return you my sincere thanks. Farewell, my dear and faithful brother. May the Lord Jesus watch over and direct you and your wife. To her and the brethren express my best salutation. "Yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

"April 7, 1549."

consulted and gave his opinion frankly on the subject; he also admonished Melancthon of his duty, who was unjustly accused by some of too much gentleness in his views on this question, as Calvin afterwards more fully discovered.

It was not then known what spirit actuated the evil-genius of Flaccius, and the whole tribe of his followers, by which they afterwards caused such disturbances, and to this day so subvert the work of the Lord, that they could not have done it more audaciously and furiously had they been hired to it by the gold of the Roman pontiff. But the Lord, while this wound was inflicted upon the German churches, granted a contrary blessing to the Swiss; for Farel and Calvin made a visit to Zurich, that, as certain persons considered the latter in some measure to favour consubstantiation, all protestants might be entirely satisfied concerning the unanimous agreement of all the Helvetic churches in this important article. It was not difficult to unite good men devoted to the truth. An harmony was drawn up with the unanimous approbation of all the Swiss and Grison churches, which had the effect of still more closely uniting Bullinger with Calvin, and the church of Zurich with that of Geneva, to which we still adhere, and hope by the blessing of God to do so to the end. The conclusion of this year was productive of happiness to the church, when it is contrasted with the preceding; and I state this with greater pleasure, because I was now first introduced into the sacred office on the call of the church of Lausanne, and at Calvin's instigation.

About this time Calvin wrote two letters, abounding with profound erudition to Lelius Socinus, of Sienna, who died at Zurich after a long-continued residence.

These letters evidently prove the scepticism of Socinus, which was not fully known until many years had elapsed, and death itself had closed his labours. He visited the various churches, and deceived even the most learned, and among the rest particularly Melancthon, Calvin, and Camerarius, who bears in his life of Melancthon a very honoura-

ble testimony to his character, which he does not deserve. It is ascertained beyond doubt, that he was afterwards in a great measure the author of the confused Bellian controversy, and a favourer of the wild opinions of Servetus, Castellio, and Ochinus, an account of which we shall give in its proper place. His commentary also upon the celebrated first chapter of John is yet extant, in which he has much surpassed the impiety of all the heretics, who ever corrupted that very divine passage.

The year 1550 was remarkable for its tranquillity with respect to the church. The consistory resolved that the ministers should not confine their instructions to public preaching, which was neglected by some, and heard with very little advantage by others, but at stated seasons should visit every family from house to house, attended by an elder, and a decurion of each ward, to explain the Christian doctrines to the common people, and require from every one a brief account of their faith. These private visits were of great use to the church, and it is scarcely credible how much fruit was produced by this plan of instruction.

The consistory gave directions that the celebration of the birth of Christ should be deferred to the following day, and that no festival should be observed as holy, excepting the seventh, which is called the Lord's day. This proceeding gave offence to many, and for the purpose of reproaching Calvin, there were some who circulated an unfounded report of his abrogating the Sabbath itself: though this subject was discussed before the people, and the decree passed without the request or even the knowledge of the ministers, yet Calvin did not think it worth his while to excite any dispute. In consequence of many being offended with such changes, Calvin embraced this opportunity for writing a "Treatise on Scandal," dedicated to his old and very faithful friend, Laurence of Normandy. (See note B.)

The disputes in 1551 fully compensated for the tranquillity of the two preceding years. The death of Bucer, much

beloved by Calvin, and of James Vadian, consul of St. Gal, a person of singular piety and erudition, deeply afflicted the whole church, and especially our reformer.* The wicked-

* Martin Bucer, Professor of Theology in the University of Cambridge, closed his learned and useful career, February 28, 1551. As he had been highly respected by Edward VI. his remains were interred with distinguished funeral honours. See Burnet, vol. 2, p. 155.

In the Marian persecution, the tomb of Bucer was demolished, and his body burnt; but the tomb was afterwards rebuilt by order of Queen Elizabeth.

The death of Bucer occurred at the critical moment when the Liturgy of the English Church was undergoing a reform. The loss of his influence in that work, and the close of a long and most confidential intimacy and correspondence, so deeply affected Calvin, that in his letter to Farel, he forbore dwelling on the painful subject; and says, "When I reflect with myself, how great a loss the Church of God has sustained in the death of this man, it cannot be but that I should be tortured with fresh sorrow. His influence was great in England. And from his writings, I cannot but indulge the hope, that posterity will be benefitted in a still more extensive degree. It may be added, that the Church appears to be deprived of faithful teachers." Calvin proceeds to mention in the same letter, the death of his friend, James Vadian, consul of St. Gal, a civil magistrate valuable for his learning and piety, the weight of whose influence was very great in the civil and religious concerns of the Helvetians. See Calvin's letter to Farel, dated June 15, 1551, and to Viret, dated May 10, 1551.

Bucer was born 1491, at Schelestadt, in the province of Alsace. He entered the order of Dominicans at the age of seven years. In 1521, he had a conference with Luther. Having previously perused the writings of Erasmus and of Luther, he was prepared to unite with the German Reformers. He settled at Strasburg, and officiated there both as Minister and Theological Professor for 20 years; and, with Capito, was the chief instrument of the early reformation in that city. When the troubles about the *Interim* arose, he gladly accepted the invitation of Cranmer, and went to England, 1549.

ness of the factious burst forth with greater violence, in proportion to the length of time it had been smothered: they openly asserted that the right of citizenship ought not to be granted to strangers, who took refuge in Geneva; and not content with this, they mocked and jostled Calvin on his return from preaching beyond the Rhone.

Raymond, his colleague, passing over the bridge across the Rhone by night, nearly fell headlong into it, in consequence of the factious secretly removing one of the piles. They excited a considerable tumult at the church of St. Gervais, assigning as a pretext, that the minister had refused to give the name Balthazar, which had been expressly prohibited by laws made on sufficient grounds, to a child whom they had brought for baptism. Calvin, not being able to remedy these evils, bore them with Christian resignation, fortitude, and invincible patience. But another new evil attacked the church of Geneva at this time. Jerome Bolsec, late a Carmelite monk at Paris, was the occasion of this confusion; who, having laid aside the habit a few years before, retained the spirit and character of a monk. He fled from Paris, and was banished from the court of the Duchess de Ferrara, who had been deceived by him, and having been made physician in the space of three days, paid a visit to Geneva. Being held in no repute among learned physicians, he aimed to establish his credit as a divine, by beginning to prate something privately concerning the falsehood and absurdity of predestination, and afterwards in the church. Calvin at first was content with refuting him, and used mild remonstrance, but afterwards, by private conversation, our reformer endeavoured to correct his errors. But Bolsec, whether excited by monastic ambition, or goaded on by the seditious, who had been seeking for some one to attack Calvin, on the 16th of October, when the preacher was explaining in the church the following passage: "He that is of God heareth God's words; ye therefore hear them not because ye are not of God," (John viii. 47,) openly dared to support free will, and

the foreknowledge of works, for the purpose of subverting the decree of eternal predestination, which is superior in order to all causes. He attacked the true doctrine with contumelious language, and a purely seditious arrogance; and he is thought to have done this with greater boldness, because he considered Calvin to be absent, as Bolsec did not happen to behold him in his usual place. He was indeed absent at the commencement of the sermon, but as he came in after the preacher had proceeded with his subject, he had remained behind some of the rest of the congregation. When the discourse of the monk was finished, Calvin suddenly appeared, and though he evidently spoke without premeditation, displayed on this occasion, as much as on any other, his great talents in controversy. Calvin indeed confuted his opponent with so much force, adduced so many passages from Scripture, so many quotations in particular from St. Augustin, and, finally, so many, and such weighty arguments, that all, except the monk himself, with his shameless front, blushed exceedingly for the daring assailant. He was seized by a magistrate in the congregation, who was empowered for that purpose, dismissed the assembly, and committed to prison as a seditious offender. In short, the cause was discussed in various disputations; the senate requested the judgment of the Swiss churches, expelled him from the city, after being publicly condemned for sedition and downright Pelagianism, and threatened to inflict corporal punishment, if they should again apprehend him either in the city or its territory. Bolsec retired into a neighbouring city, where he caused many and great disturbances; and having been twice driven from the Canton of Berne, he went first to Paris, and then to Orleans, canvassing for the charge of the ministry among the French churches, which he expected would continue tranquil, affecting, by strange arts, repentance for his conduct, and expressing, of his own accord, a desire to be reconciled with the church of Geneva. When he appeared as if really prepared thus to act, the persecution of the protestant

churches, contrary to his expectations, alarmed him, and, resuming the study of medicine, he openly forsook the protestants, and returned to the popish profession, having abandoned also his wife to the canons of Autun, and became a gross railer against the truth, which practice he still continues in that city. But the College of Ministers at Geneva, in a public meeting, asserted the true doctrine of predestination, and approved the statement afterwards given of it by Calvin in a treatise published on that subject. Satan, by these disputes, was the occasion of so much light being thrown upon this article of our faith, involved before in very great obscurity, that it has been made clear and evident to all but the friends of contention.

In the following year it appeared more certain what such a flame the impure Bolsec had raised, although condemned by the common judgment of so many churches. For the difficulty of a question, which had not yet been sufficiently explained by the greater part of the ancients, and the discussion of which had not always ended in the same conclusion, excited in a peculiar manner inquisitive minds to investigate this important point. The factious also considered this to be an excellent opportunity for effecting the complete subversion of all order, if Calvin could only be expelled. It is impossible to state the various disputes which followed, not only in the city, but in every quarter, as if the trumpet was sounded by Satan himself. For though the ministers of the principal churches beautifully harmonized, there were, however, some of the neighbouring churches of Berne, which threatened to enter into controversy with Calvin, as if he made God the author of sin, evidently forgetting that Calvin had long ago professedly refuted this very destructive opinion, in his treatise against the libertines. At Basle also the good and simple man, Castellio, the greatest part of whose conduct was marked by secrecy, supported Pelagianism with considerable openness. Even Melancthon himself had commenced writing on these subjects in such a manner, that not-

withstanding he had expressly before this period subscribed to Calvin's book against Pighius, yet some thought he pointed to the ministers of Geneva, as if they were introducing a stoical fate. I wholly omit mentioning the catholics, who now again repeated the same calumnies, which had been a thousand times refuted. These circumstances necessarily distressed Calvin's mind with much greater keenness, because, occasionally during that period, the power of error had been so great, that in some parts public authority seemed to interpose for preventing the ministers to declare the truth.

Nor was this a controversy finished in a few years: but, first of all, the good hermit, Troillet, already mentioned, came forth this very year to enter the field of controversy with Calvin, who some time before, after being rejected as an unsuccessful candidate for the ministry, had become a lawyer, and the patron of the factious. This cause was discussed on both sides before the senate with considerable warmth. Calvin defended his doctrine by the sole authority of truth, while his opponent conducted the discussion, supported by the impudence and the favour of the abandoned. The truth was victorious; and the writings of Calvin, which is a striking fact, were even recognised as orthodox and pious by the suffrages of his opponents.

We must not conceal the repentance of this Troillet some few years after, who, on his death-bed, sent for Calvin, with great earnestness, as a witness, to inform him that he could not die with peace of conscience, unless he was reconciled to him before he departed. He confessed in what an unworthy manner he had carried on his attack against Calvin, who not only paid him every attention, but with the greatest kindness raised and comforted his drooping spirit, and confirmed his faith until his dying hour.

But the year 1553, the wickedness of the seditious hastening to a close, was so very turbulent, that both church and state were brought into extreme danger. They made so great a progress by threats and clamour, the virtuous part of the

society enjoying no liberty in consequence of the great number of the seditious, as to disannul the ancient edicts for electing and appointing senators, which, by the kind favour of God, afforded an argument for the virtuous, to adopt afterwards such an improvement in their councils, as secured more completely their own rights. They expelled some from the senate, deprived all foreign refugees of their arms, under the pretence of fear, and allowed them only the use of swords when they went into the country. Every thing seemed to be in a state of preparation for accomplishing the plans of the seditious, since all was subject to their power.

Satan then presented another occasion for exciting disturbance. For that real enemy of the sacred Trinity, or rather of all true deity, and therefore a monster formed from all kinds of the most absurd and impious heresies which had formally taken possession of the human mind, Michael Servetus, after wandering as a physician for some years in various parts of Europe, under the feigned name of Villanovanus, disseminated his blasphemies at Vienne, in a thick volume. Arnollet, of Lyons, was printer, and William Gurret, corrector, as it is termed, of the press, who was long ago devoted to the seditious at Geneva, and a few months before left that city for Lyons, to avoid the punishment to which he was exposed, on account of fornication and other crimes. Servetus, after publishing this work, abounding with blasphemies, on account of which he had been imprisoned at Vienne, whence, by contrivances, with which I am wholly unacquainted, he afterwards escaped, now came, under unfavourable auspices, to Geneva, with an intention of going to some more distant place, if the providence of God had not so arranged that he was cast into prison by one of the magistrates; who was informed of his being in that city by Calvin, who recognized him soon after his arrival, having been well acquainted with Servetus long before. A book was published, where a very full account may be met with of the controversies then discussed, and of the importance of the subjects ex-

amined. The result of the whole was, that this ruined character, in whose ear it was thought one of the seditious, being assessor with the prætor, whispered advice calculated to harden the mind of the prisoner in his sins, was betrayed by his own vain confidence, and condemned for impiety and an infinite number of blasphemies, according to the sentence even of all the Swiss churches. This unhappy person was burned alive, without manifesting the least mark of repentance, on the 27th of October. [See note C.]

Farel was so broken down with disease this year, that he was left by Calvin, who had come to visit him at Neuchatel, apparently in dying circumstances. He was, however, afterwards restored, contrary to all expectations, and continued to comfort and refresh the church. This year was hitherto evidently spent by us in an alternation of hope and fear, but the grief we experienced was followed by the feelings of joy.

For while the proceedings were going on in the case of Servetus, Bertelier, one of the factious, a man of the most abandoned impudence, who had been forbidden the Lord's table by the presbytery on account of his many crimes, entered the senate, and petitioned them to authorize the abrogation of his sentence. Had this request been granted, all the bonds of church discipline would undoubtedly have been broken, and all church order immediately dissolved. Calvin, therefore, with great earnestness and boldness, in the name of the presbytery, opposed it, and proved that the magistrate ought to be the avenger, not destroyer of the sacred laws, and he neglected nothing which so momentous a dispute required. The false clamours of those, who asserted that the presbytery, in some cases, usurped the power of the magistrates, triumphed; and a resolution was passed, on the question being brought before the grand council of two hundred, that the final decision, on all cases of excommunication, should be vested in the senate, with a power to absolve such as they thought fit. Agreeable to this decision,

Bertelier secretly obtained letters abrogating his sentence; and confirmed by the seal of the state, from the senate, which did not at that time direct its attention to the careful investigation of this subject. Perrin, and his faction, expected that Calvin would either disobey the orders of the senate, and thus sink under popular tumult, or, if he obeyed them, all the authority of the presbytery, and with it all the powerful restraints upon the wicked, would, without difficulty, be afterwards broken for ever. But Calvin, having received notice of this resolution only two days before the administration of the supper, as usual, in September, uttered, during the sermon, with uplifted hands, and in a solemn tone, many severe denunciations against the profaners of mysteries, whose sacred character he described; and “for my own part,” said he, (after the example of Chrysostom,) “I will rather suffer myself to be slain, than allow this hand to stretch forth the sacred things of the Lord to those who are lawfully condemned as despisers of God.” This voice, wonderful to state, produced such an effect, even upon his unbridled enemies, that Perrin immediately gave secret orders to Bertelier, not to present himself at the table, and the sacred mysteries were celebrated with a surprisingly profound silence, and under a solemn awe, as if the Deity himself had been visible among them. But, after dinner, in the course of his explaining that remarkable passage in the Acts of the Apostles, where Paul bids farewell to the church of Ephesus, Calvin protested that he was not the man who either himself knew any thing about resisting magistrates, or taught others to do so, and exhorted, at considerable length, the people to persevere in the doctrine which they had heard. And in conclusion, as if it was the last sermon he would preach at Geneva, he said, “Since affairs are in such a state, permit me also, brethren, to apply to you the language of the apostle, I commend you to God and to the word of his grace.” These words struck his abandoned enemies dumb, in a surprising manner, and the good were more seriously

confirmed and admonished of their duty. Calvin, the next day, accompanied by his colleagues and the presbytery, deliberately demanded of the senate, and the council of two hundred, that their case should be determined by the people themselves, since the law, whose abrogation was then under consideration, had been made by the people.

The opinions of these two ruling bodies were changed after such observations, and it was resolved that the decree of the two hundred should be suspended, the four reformed states of Switzerland consulted, and no alteration in the mean time should take place in the existing laws. Thus the storm being broken rather than quelled, the leaders of the faction endeavoured, from the occurrence of particular circumstances to make it fall upon the head of Farel, which, contrary to all expectation, had been averted from that of Calvin. For Farel, who had suffered so severely from a violent disease in the month of March, visited Geneva as soon as the restoration of his health allowed. In his sermon, relying on the justice of the cause, on his age, and former influence, he reprov'd with great keenness, the supporters of faction. They complained loudly that Farel had done them a serious injury, and on his return to Neuchatel they procured letters from the senate to the government of that state, for the purpose of allowing Farel to be summoned to Geneva, and to answer for himself on the day appointed. Farel came, and was exposed to considerable danger from the factious who cried out, that he ought to be thrown into the Rhone for his conduct. A prudent, discreet, courageous young man, in the first place, frequently warned Perrin to use every exertion that the common father, as it were, of the city, might not suffer any injury. He was afterwards joined by one of his companions, another young man of integrity, who advised such as were friends of good order what measures they ought to adopt. The concourse of a great part of the city took place when Farel seated himself in the court. His accusers, astonished at this circumstance, and being now anxious for their own

personal safety, earnestly entreated for the acquittal of Farel, after an audience had been given him. Thus nearly the whole of the year was spent against the wicked, in contending either for good doctrine, or wholesome discipline. The result was every where prosperous, if we except the wound, which not only England, but all Christian churches, suffered in the death of the most pious King Edward the 6th, who was cut off in the flower of youth.*

* This excellent prince was the son of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, who was delivered of him at Hampton Court, October 12, 1537, but not without the cesarean operation, of which she died in a few days after. During this young king's last illness, a few hours before his death, with his eyes closed, and judging that no one heard him, he offered up the following prayer.

"Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen. Howbeit, not my will, but thine be done. Lord I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless thy people, and save thy inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ his sake." His last words were, "I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." Thus died this blessed king—this young Josias, July 6, 1553, aged 17.

Mr. Bradford, the martyr, said of this excellent prince, that he judged him to be the holiest and godliest man in the realm of England.

In the beginning of his reign, Charles I. emperor of Germany and king of Spain, requested that leave might be given to Lady Mary (afterwards Queen Mary) to have mass said in her house. Bishops Cranmer and Ridley were sent by the Council to entreat the young king on this behalf. They plead for it as a matter of state policy. But the young king answered them from Scripture with such gravity and force, that they could not reply. They

Calvin was so intent upon his studies during this year, as to publish his excellent commentaries on John. We may here declare, and I heartily wish it were without cause concerning Servetus, what the ancient fathers of the church, taught by experience, wrote of these two monsters, Paul of Samosata, and Arius of Alexandria, that they commenced conflagrations, which afterwards set on fire nearly all the churches of the Christian world. Servetus was justly punished at Geneva, not as a sectary, but as a monster, made up of nothing but impiety and horrid blasphemies, with which, by his speeches and writings, for the space of thirty years, he had infected both heaven and earth. Even now it is impossible to state how much he has increased the rage of Satan, since the flame, raised by him, first seized upon Poland then Transylvania and Hungary, and would to God it had not extended even farther. Servetus may justly be considered as having uttered a prediction, with a spirit evidently satanic, when he selected the following sentence, with the same feelings of conscience that dictated all his other writings, as a frontispiece to his book, which is true, if the particle *with*, not *against*, be used: "Great war took place in heaven, Michael and his angels fighting with the dragon."

however pressed their suit, but the king told them to be satisfied, and said that he was resolved rather to lose his life, and all that he had, than agree to that which he knew with certainty to be against the truth. Notwithstanding all this, the bishops continued their intercessions, when the king burst into tears, through tenderness, love, and zeal for the truth; which the bishops no sooner observed than they wept also and withdrew. On their return to the Council, they met Mr. Cheek, who had a great share in the king's education. Cranmer took him by the hand, and said "Ah, Mr. Cheek, you may be glad all the days of your life, that you have such a scholar; for he hath more divinity in his little finger, than we have in our whole bodies."

The ashes of this unhappy man were scarcely cold, when the question was discussed concerning the punishment of heretics. Some thought it right to restrain within due bounds, but not to punish heretics with death; others determined to leave them to the judgment of God, from a conviction that the word of truth is not sufficiently clear on heresy, and that, according to the practice of the academicians, different sentiments may be entertained by both sides concerning all the articles of religion: even some good men supported this opinion, fearing lest, by adopting contrary sentiments, they should appear to inflame the cruelty of tyrants against the pious. The principal supporters of this sentiment were Castellio and Lelius Socinus, the former in a more secret manner, the latter with greater boldness. Socinus, in his preface for perverting the Holy Bible, has evidently studied to destroy the manifest authority of the divine word, and has expressly stated in his notes to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, for the purpose of withdrawing our attention from the written word as imperfect, that Paul had taught some of his perfect disciples, with whom I am wholly unacquainted, a certain more profound system of divinity than what he has delivered to us in the Scriptures.

Calvin, in the beginning of 1554, published a copious refutation of the doctrine of Servetus, which was subscribed by all his colleagues, and assigned reasons why, and to what extent, after proper legal investigation, heretics ought to be punished by the magistrates. This refutation was answered in the name of one Martin Bellius, who was Castellio himself, though he afterwards denied it on oath, in a confused work, formed out of extracts from the corrupted writings of pious doctors, and from the manuscripts of certain unknown fanatics. They forged the name of the city where, they falsely pretended, this confused treatise had been published, and inserted it in the preface. I afterwards returned an answer to this work, which contained not only the error already men-

tioned, but many blasphemies, with a view to free Calvin from the troublesome interruption he would have experienced in the prosecution of works of greater importance, especially in writing his very learned commentaries on Genesis, and also in his unwearied labours for warding off other dangers, hereafter to be stated, by which the church was threatened. For the factious persisted in their innovations; and though, on the 2d of February, an amnesty was again ratified in the presence of the senate with a solemn promise, yet they daily increased in wickedness. Calvin continued to be very much occupied, while he laboured by his usual reproofs to recall the abandoned to habits of virtue, and to confirm the good against the vile conduct of the wicked: for they had advanced to such a dreadful height of vice, as to parody the word of God itself in obscene songs, and to knock down, and sometimes even to plunder, foreigners, whom they met in the evening. They called in also the private and special assistance of Bolsec, Castellio, and certain other characters, who forsooth displayed great anxiety about the truth, for the purpose of renewing the controversy concerning predestination. They were not satisfied with disseminating that famous anonymous work, replete with calumny, in which Calvin, the faithful servant of God, was reviled in a very surprising manner; but Castellio sent another Latin work to be published secretly at Paris, which I afterwards answered, and Calvin himself refuted some foolish absurdities of the same argument comprehended in certain articles.

Calvin was at this time occupied with the care of the numerous strangers, who had been obliged to quit England, some of whom had retired to Vezel, others to Embden, and the rest to Franckfort, who all frequently solicited his advice. He was much distressed by the audacity of certain pastors, belonging to the French church at Strasburg, formerly founded by him, who were supported by the secret favour and assistance of some of their colleagues.

The great labours in which Calvin was engaged this year,

for the interest of various churches, appear from his numerous letters, by which he induced many princes to embrace the gospel, and confirmed with very great advantage, many of his brethren, either exposed to the most imminent danger of their lives, or confined in chains.

We have already spoken of the published harmony of the doctrine of the sacraments among all the Swiss and Grison churches, which afforded great joy to the learned and good of all denominations. This harmony displeased the spirit of error, with whose power we are already well acquainted. He easily got one Joachim Westphal to stir up the covered embers, who having sounded the tocsin, was supported by Heshusius, then minister of the word of God, and now made a bishop, of whom we shall afterwards give a more full account. Calvin published, at that time, an explanation of this harmony, which, in proportion as it excited the furious indignation of these writers, proved more highly useful to all the lovers of truth.

The following year, by the wonderful kindness of God, produced a desired rest for the church and state of Geneva from its domestic contentions. The factious ruined themselves in consequence of the timely detection of a dreadful conspiracy, by the petulance and audacity of certain drunkards concerned in it; some of them were condemned to a capital punishment, and others left their native country. And although they harassed the city for a considerable space of time afterwards, yet all shared at last a shameful death; and in this way exhibited a singular example of the late, but just judgment of God. The republic was thus freed from these pests of society; and God conferred another blessing by the answer of the four Swiss states, which was returned a short time before this event, whose opinion the senate had determined to take the preceding year, as already stated, concerning the discipline of the church of Geneva. All the edicts of church government, contrary to the expectation of

the factious, were ratified, and confirmed by the unanimous suffrages of the citizens.

Calvin was not left without occasion for strenuous exertions, as in foreign affairs he took great pains in promoting the establishment of the churches in Poland, according to the will of the king. The dreadful tempest excited on the change of government in England, hurried away to heaven, along with innumerable others in that country, those three bishops and martyrs of unrivalled piety—Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer, and at length the great Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. Calvin was very much employed in comforting his French brethren in bonds, and especially the five martyrs of most distinguished bravery, who were burned in the most cruel manner at Cambray.

But the ashes of Servetus began again to spring up afresh at home, whose blasphemies were favoured by Matthew Gribaldo, an eminent lawyer, who had accidentally come to Geneva, as Fargias, a village in the neighbourhood of that city, belonged to him. Calvin, on being introduced to him by certain Italians, among whom he had been a teacher at Padua, refused to give him the right hand of fellowship, unless they were agreed about the first article of Christian faith, the sacred Trinity, and the divinity of Christ. Such conduct left no room for exhortations or arguments, and he in reality experienced afterwards, what Calvin even then predicted, that the dreadful judgment of God was impending over him for his obstinate impiety. He first escaped from Tübingen, where he had been introduced by the kindness of Virgerius; and was afterwards taken at Berne, where he renounced his heresies, in order to escape the dangers by which he was threatened. He afterwards returned to his former principles, and became the supporter and guest of Gentilis, to whose conduct we shall on another occasion revert. He at last died of the plague, by which he was suddenly seized, and thus escaped the punishment prepared for him.

Another circumstance prevented Calvin from experiencing uninterrupted joy this year. A faction arose of a few neighbouring ministers, who were of their own accord opposed to Calvin, and under the influence of Bolsec. These persons, though of infamous characters, thinking to acquire reputation by attacking so illustrious an adversary, accused him, in scurrilous language, of making God the author of sin, because he taught that nothing is exempted from the eternal providence and appointment of God. Calvin despised at first these calumnies to which we have already alluded, but compelled at last by their railings, solicited permission to repair to Berne, accompanied by envoys from the republic, to maintain the cause of truth before the inhabitants of that city. After advocating his cause, Castellio was banished with infamy from the territory of Berne, and Bolsec was also ordered to depart; nor did they think it then necessary to draw up any definite articles on the subject discussed, since the Lord himself took his own plans for supporting the interests of his church. Calvin would otherwise have appeared to have gained his object by authority or favour, which was subsequently supported by the voluntary confession of his opponent. For all these calumnies soon afterwards vanished into smoke, and Andrew Zebedee, Calvin's bitterest accuser on this occasion, retracted his errors on his death-bed, after Calvin's decease, having sent for the principal citizens of Newburgh, four miles distance from Geneva. He manifested his perfect detestation of his former conduct, by ordering all his own papers to be burned before his eyes, which was certainly a better decision than if these orders had been issued by a thousand decrees of the senate.(XI.)

In the following year, Calvin, in consequence of his imprudence, was attacked with a tertian fever when preaching and obliged, contrary to his inclination, to leave the pulpit. This circumstance gave rise to many false reports, which were so acceptable to the Roman Catholics, that a solemn procession was held at Noyon, his native city, and the canons

returned public thanks to their idols for the death of our reformer.* But the prayers of the pious prevailed, and Calvin was so far from falling a victim to the disease, that he seemed, as it were, to be renewed in strength, and commenced an unusually long journey to Franckfort, where he had been invited for the purpose of terminating the disputes of the French Church.

Calvin, on his return from Franckfort, though something impaired in his health, did not remit his daily labours, having published, the following year, his remarkably learned Commentaries on the Psalms, accompanied with a very valuable preface. Part of this year, which was very turbulent, and distinguished for tumults, excited by some factious ministers, and by the very great price of wheat, Calvin devoted to the defence of the truth against Joachim Westphal. After Calvin had answered Westphal, in consequence of his continually prating on this subject, I engaged in the controversy myself with a success, by the grace of God, that leaves me no cause to repent of the part I took in this question. Then also the calumnies of Castellio against the eternal providence of God, which he had circulated without affixing his name to the work, were refuted by us both.

The news of the very dreadful persecution of the protestants, which particularly began in Paris, where the congregation in James' street was seized, assembled for celebrating the Lord's Supper, deeply, and in an especial manner affected Calvin. Nearly eighty of them were seized, (the rest escaping by means of the darkness of the night,) and dragged to prison about break of day, with much reproachful and contumelious language, though several ladies were observed among them of the first quality. The courtiers, and circumstances of the times, had awakened the king's anger against

* The Edinburgh Encyclopædia says, this event occurred in 1551. So also says Bayle.

the protestants, for this affliction took place soon after the news had arrived of the defeat of the French at St. Quintin, and their assemblies were held at night, not being permitted to meet in the day. These old and stale calumnies, formerly invented against the first Christians, were again revived by Demochares, a doctor of the Sorbonne, pretending that all the disasters of the state were to be attributed to protestants alone. They procured also false witnesses to prove that the putting out of the lights was followed by prostitution, which many were credulous enough to believe.

Twenty-one of them were condemned to the flames, and, as only seven were executed at a time, this spectacle was exhibited at three different periods, to make the example more dreadful. The first who entered the flames was a lady of rank, whose constancy, and that of other six, particularly of the two last of the young men who suffered, was truly admirable.

This storm was in a great measure assuaged, by detecting the calumny of the doctors of the Sorbonne, though even this did not silence them, by the mother herself appearing before the judges to prove the chastity of her captive daughters. An excellent treatise was likewise published by a very learned pastor, residing for some months in that neighbourhood, who easily refuted all the falsehoods in circulation; and the earnest intercession of an embassy from the German princes, procured by Calvin's exertions with the utmost speed, assisted to allay this storm of dreadful persecution. The following year shone forth with great happiness upon the state of Geneva, by a perpetual alliance between the inhabitants of Geneva and Berne, contrary to the expectation of such as had been banished from the first city. Several unpleasant occurrences from other quarters diminished this happiness, besides the last abortive efforts of the exiles, which I shall wholly pass over.

The persecution abroad was rekindled in France, and the most mischievous and terrible heresy of the Tritheists, re-

vived from the ashes of Servetus, by Valentine Gentilis, a native of Cosenza.

For the purpose of affording assistance to those suffering from persecution, an embassy was sent to the princes of Germany, with letters from Calvin, to demand their intercession in the calamities of the church, which they depicted with great feeling. Calvin in the mean time strengthened the hands of the persecuted, by keeping up a constant correspondence with them.

I will give a brief statement of the whole proceedings with Gentilis, and an account of the death of this monster. For the whole of this history is faithfully related in part by Calvin himself, from the public acts, and partly by Benedict Aretius, minister at Berne, having added a refutation of the blasphemies uttered by this heretic. All these treatises, and some others pertaining to the same subject, were published in this city in the 1567th year of our Lord.

Shortly after the death of Servetus, Gentilis, possessed of a sagacious, but vacillating and sophistical understanding, meeting, some time after the punishment of Servetus, with his work, and its refutation by Calvin, easily perceived that neither the phantasms nor ideas of Servetus to colour the heresy of Paul of Samosata, nor the confusion of the persons with the essence introduced by Sabellius, nor the fictitious deity of Christ, taught by the impure Arius, could be reconciled with the word of God. Perceiving also that the views given us in Scripture, with regard to three distinct persons in one essence, are above our comprehension, he did not, as is usual with such characters, submit himself to the wisdom of God, but was satisfied with the truth of such opinions as were agreeable to human reason. He attributed the monarchy and supreme authority to the person of the Father alone, whom he would have to be the only sovereign God. He began openly to avow the doctrine of essentiation, namely, the propagation of essence, and as there were three persons, so there must be three numerically distinct essences,

that is to say, three Gods, eternal, almighty, and immense. To maintain this heresy, he perverted, with matchless impudence, the Scriptures, and the council of Nice, for he wholly renounced the Athanasian Creed, and wrested the more ancient writers of the Church, Ignatius, Tertullian, Irenæus, and Lactantius, to support his opinions. For he not only rejected all the orthodox divines, followers of the Nicene council, but treated them with scorn, as guilty of impiety. This blasphemy was the forerunner of others concerning the hypostatic union.

At first he proposed his opinions privately among a few, and particularly to John Paul Alciat, a military officer, from Milan, and George Blandrata, a physician of Salusses, professing only to consider it as a subject for discussion. But the Presbytery of the Italian church at Geneva, having been informed of this circumstance, convened an extraordinary assembly, at which, in the hearing of a certain number of senators chosen for the occasion, and of all the ministers and elders, the reasons adduced in support of that doctrine were patiently considered by Calvin, and refuted from the word of God. This conference induced all the Italians to sign the orthodox faith, with the exception of six, who shortly afterwards, being examined separately, subscribed it with their hands, but not, as the event proved, with their hearts. Gentilis, returning to his former habits and dispositions, was found again disseminating the same blasphemous opinions; he used no dissimulation on his arrest, and had as long and as frequent an audience granted him as he desired. At last, as if vanquished, for he could answer Calvin by nothing but obstinacy, he feigned an incredible repentance, a copy of which is yet extant, signed by his own hand. To be brief, he openly renounced his opinions in the streets, and was dismissed, after taking an oath that he would not leave the city. But, regardless of this obligation, he soon after fled to Grimaldo in Savoy, and was some time after followed by Alciat and Blandrata. These two last retired to Transylvania and

the adjoining countries, where they destroyed the faith by disseminating their heretical opinions.

Gentilis, the judgment of God even then hanging over him, continued with Gribaldo, since they both despised their other associates for want of learning and skill, and prepared a work against Athanasius and Calvin. From Savoy he went to Lyons, where he had it printed, and dedicated the preface to the prefect of Gez, who was wholly unacquainted with their crimes. He was afterwards, I know not how, arrested at Lyons, when, on acquainting them with his writing against Calvin, he was dismissed, as one who had deserved well of the catholic church. From thence he went to Moravia to visit Blandrata, Alciat, and others, in no respects better than himself. When he could not agree with them, because the greater part had forsaken Tritheism, and embraced the doctrines of Paul of Samosata, he returned to Savoy to his friend Gribaldo, as if Christ, by his own hand, were dragging him to punishment. But another plague had taken off this pest of the church. By this time also we were deprived of Calvin. After this, either from madness, or because he trusted none could overcome him in argument since Calvin's death, he went immediately to the prefect of Gez, whose indignation he had justly merited. On recognising Gentilis, the prefect sent him to Berne, by the just judgment of God, to plead his cause, in consequence of the former change of his opinions, when he was convicted of perjuries and manifest wickedness. Every effort having afterwards been used to restore him to the right path, without success, he was beheaded, and justly punished according to his numerous crimes. Such was the issue of this affair.

And even now there are not wanting many excellent advocates of Christianity, both catholics and ubiquitarians, who dare calumniate Calvin as the author of these blasphemies, nay, as one who had opened a door to Atheism and Mahometanism. These men, sunk in ignorance, were al-

together unacquainted with the fact, that Calvin was the first, and almost the only person in our time, who with so much labour proved the falsehood and error of these blasphemies.

The cardinal, at Paris, by whose direction the king transacted all the affairs of state, endeavoured to remove trials for heresy from the ordinary judges and laymen, to the triumvirate of cardinals. The parliament of Paris opposing this plan, more by divine interference than any human exertions, on the ground of the cardinal pleading his own, not Christ's cause, he abandoned the whole of his intended wicked scheme.

This last year was the commencement of a still greater source of grief to us, for Calvin was seized with a quartan fever in the month of October, and the result of our experience has too strongly confirmed the prognostic sentiments of our physicians, that this disease is fatal to men of advanced life. For though the duration of this disorder was only for eight months, it reduced his body, thin and worn out with labours and constant exertions, to a state of debility from which he never afterwards completely recovered. By the advice of his physicians, and at the request of his friends, that he should at length pay some regard to his health, he necessarily omitted his public sermons and lectures in divinity. He still however continued to devote day and night to the dictating and writing of various letters to different parts of Europe, and very frequently uttered the following sentence: "How unpleasant to me is an idle life!" though even then such of us as enjoyed a good state of health, might justly be regarded idlers when compared with him. A clear proof of this is afforded by his publishing the last edition of his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," both in the Latin and French languages. He this year published rather entirely new Commentaries upon Isaiah, than a revision of his former labours on that prophet, as they had been given to the world by Galar, who took them down

in writing from the lips of Calvin when lecturing on that part of Scripture.

The following year was distinguished by the peace of Chateau Cambresis, and the alliance concluded between two of the most powerful kings of Europe, Ferdinand of Spain, and Henry II. of France. The republic of Geneva would, perhaps, have been destroyed this year, had not the plans of the papists, who abused the unsuspecting disposition of Henry, been providentially prevented. Henry undoubtedly enacted the most severe laws against the protestants, and imprisoned some of the senators, who contended only for mildness in religious affairs, until a general council should be convened. The first step proposed to be taken for the destruction of Geneva was the restoring of the territory of Savoy to its former governor the duke. Calvin, though feeble in body, steadily continued his labours in Geneva, confirmed the churches most severely afflicted by such a trial, together with all the brethren, and never ceased during this eventful period, to solicit aid from the Lord with unremitted and importunate supplications. But, behold! in the midst of this terror, whose powerful influence extended in all directions, both near and remote, the king of France, in preparing for the celebration of the nuptials which confirmed the peace, received a mortal wound in a tournament, inflicted by the hand of the prefect of the royal guards, to whom the king had a short time before given orders to arrest those senators who pleaded for mild treatment in religious transactions. The following conduct of Cardinal Lorrain showed his wish to appear desirous to expiate the untimely fate of king Henry, by causing Annes du Bourge to undergo the most unjust death on the 21st of December, a counsellor of the most extensive learning, a senator of the most unshaken integrity, and of the most distinguished holiness, who at last suffered as a martyr for Christ.

Geneva, however, by the peculiar favour of God, during

that very period,—a circumstance almost beyond the bounds of credibility, as if the Lord had again repeatedly caused a most shining light to arise from the midst of the thickest darkness,—was inspired with such confidence, that in the very year, and almost moment, when those powerful princes were conspiring for its destruction, the inhabitants, encouraged by Calvin, erected splendid buildings for a public seminary. Eight masters for youth, and several public professors of Hebrew and Greek, philosophy and divinity, adorned this college.* It was dedicated in a solemn manner, before a full assembly of the people, in the first church of that city, to the most high and holy God, where the laws which related to the object of this most useful and pious institution, and its

* Geneva, though formerly an imperial city, had for some years been under the immediate government of the bishop, who had the title of prince of the town and adjacent country. The Dukes of Savoy had long contended with the bishop of Geneva, for the government of that city. The form of its internal constitution was purely republican. The people annually elected four syndics, twenty-five senators, and a council of two hundred, for the management of their affairs.

The citizens, who were attached to the popular form of their government, had always been firm in their opposition to those who supported the Episcopal or ducal prerogatives.

The bishop and the duke dropped their contending claims, and from policy, united their strength against the common enemy—the people and the reformation. The bishop having offended both the duke and the people, made a precipitate retreat from Geneva. The duke was defeated by the citizens, and they extended their authority over the neighbouring castles, and eventually established their independence on the republican basis. This free and independent city progressed under the benign influence of the reformed doctrines, to a degree of consideration, wealth, and influence, which was for a long period of momentous import to the civil and religious concerns of Europe.—Dupin, 16 Cent. p. 179. Rob. Ch. v. vol. 3. p. 117. Rees' Cyclop. Art. Geneva.

perpetual confirmation, were for the first time read and published.

In the following year Calvin was invidiously accused by some, of having excited certain leaders against Francis 2d, heir of the kingdom of France, in the disastrous tumults which took place between the papists and protestants at Amboise. Calvin, however, I know for a certainty, had never been made acquainted with this insurrection, and he always openly disapproved, in conversation, as well as by letters sent to his friends, of such violent attempts on the part of the reformed.

Francis Stancarus, of Mantua, as if Italy was doomed to be ruinous to the religious prosperity of Poland, began this year to propagate the opinion, that "Christ was Mediator only according to the flesh," and to accuse all those of Arianism who said, "Christ was Mediator in his divine nature," as if the supporters of this doctrine made the Son inferior to the Father. Melancthon, Peter Martyr, and others, refuted, with much solidity of reasoning, this opinion, and calumnious view of Christ's mediatorial character. On the application of the Poles, Calvin also at that time exposed in a very brief but nervous manner, the fallacy of that error. He at the same time foresaw on this occasion, what afterwards actually happened, that some inexperienced writers on this controversy, if they were not very circumspect, would, from a zeal to refute Stancarus, be in danger of vindicating the heresy of the Tritheists, and he expressly guarded them against Blandrata, and his followers, who had adopted this view. He was desirous to induce them to maintain the belief that Christ was Mediator in both natures, without multiplying his divinity. This advice, however, had no effect on such as were determined on ruin.

At this time also the Christian brethren, commonly called Waldenses of Bohemia, proposed certain questions to Calvin by two of their number sent to visit him. He satisfied their scruples, as was meet and right, in a kind manner, and ex-

horted them to enter into a close union with the other churches. At the same time many of the French reformers, after the death of Queen Mary, took refuge to England, relying upon the striking piety and humanity of her most serene highness Queen Elizabeth. The emigrants, with the consent of Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, requested a minister should be sent from Geneva, for the purpose of establishing a French church there; and Nicholas Gallar was appointed to go to London for that purpose.

At the conclusion of the year 1560, Francis Second, king of France, died very suddenly, and at the very moment when in the midst of general despair, the protestants of that kingdom looked only to God for help.

Scarcely had Charles the 9th, yet a child, commenced his reign, when letters written in his name, were brought to Geneva by a herald, in which he complained, that persons, sent from that city, were exciting disturbances in his kingdom. He requested their immediate recall, stating that he would not pass over such a very just ground for revenge, if they refused to comply. Calvin, summoned by the senate, in his own name, and that of his colleagues, returned as answer, that at the request of the French churches, they had advised and exhorted men of tried faith, and unimpeachable life and conversation, and on whose qualifications for such a purpose they relied, to be in readiness to assist their country, when soliciting the aid of their own people in the sacred cause of establishing a pure church. In undertaking this measure, they had not intended to excite disturbances in the state, but to teach the gospel of peace; and they were prepared, if any other accusation were alleged against them, to answer their opponents in the presence of the king himself. This business proceeded no further. Calvin and myself answered this year a work written by Tileman Heshusius, a most light and unreasonable author. Calvin afterwards refuted the blasphemies then published at Lyons by Valentine Gentilis, against the creed of St. Athanasius. Calvin

in the dedication of his Lectures on the prophet Daniel to the French churches, declares, as in a prophetic voice, that tempestuous and severe trials were hanging over their heads. At this very time a conference between the Romish prelates and the reformed ministers was held at Poissy, when Beza, in this august assembly of the realm, presented to king Charles 9th the confession of faith approved by the French churches, and many promised themselves the speedy subversion of popery. During this session Francis Baldwin, afterwards denominated Changeling, because he had altered his religious sentiments at least three, if not four times, and who before the last melancholy disaster that befel the French churches on the 24th of August, 1572, as appeared from the testimony of men of the greatest virtue and piety, was very desirous even then to be united with the protestants, and letters to this effect, written by the good Baldwin himself, were produced at the synod. He, being suborned by Cardinal Lorrain, and reconciled to the King of Navarre by base intrigues, offered a book to sale in the palace, published either by himself, or more probably by Cassander, who assumed the name, pious and moderate, which was worse than the Interim of Charles the 5th, because, under the mask of moderation, it defended all the corruptions of popery. Calvin, being informed by Beza of this circumstance, published a refutation of this work, to which soon after, some additions were made, that disclosed to every one the character and intention of Baldwin. This answer of Calvin, and another by Beza, excited the indignation of the lawyer, who continued, during the remainder of his life, to attack Calvin in the most vile manner. He died, and at the same time ceased railing, in the year 1574, equally odious to God, to papists, and protestants, who had been so frequently deceived by him, in the act either of carrying on a certain law-suit in Paris, or pining away with envy, when he saw another person chosen in preference to himself, for the purpose of accompanying Henry the 3d on his journey into Poland. In the year

1562, the French churches not only enjoyed peace, but toleration, sanctioned on certain terms by the royal edict itself. The King of Navarre was afterwards, by the artifices of the papists, suborned, when the Duke of Guise sounded the trumpet, perpetrated the horrid massacre at Vassy, and commenced, under such auspices, that civil war which continued during twelve years to involve wretched France in the horrors of one general conflagration. Language can convey no idea of the number and extent of cares on account of the afflictions of the church, which grieved Calvin's mind, whose bodily infirmities were likewise so much increased, that it might even then be easily foreseen he was hastily advancing to a better state of existence. He still, however, continued to comfort and encourage such as suffered under affliction, and to preach, and deliver lectures on divinity. Calvin, this year, in the name of the Prince of Conde, and of all the pious, presented a very beautiful confession of faith to the states of the empire, then assembled at Franckfort, as an answer to the calumnies which had been circulated in Germany, concerning the reformers.

It affords us satisfaction to mention, in this place, a circumstance that deserves to be stated. On the 19th of December, which was the Sabbath, the north wind having been unusually high for two days, Calvin (although confined to bed by the gout) said, in the hearing of a number of friends, "I know not indeed what it means; I thought I heard last night a very loud sound of drums used in war, and I could not divest myself of the opinion that it was a reality. I entreat you let us pray, for some event of very great moment is undoubtedly taking place." On this very day the battle at Dreux, distinguished for its great cruelty, was fought, the news of which reached Geneva a few days after.

In the following year, 1563, his bodily infirmities became so severe and complicated, that it is indeed incredible that such a brave and noble soul could have been any longer confined in a body of so much weakness, exhausted by so

many labours, and worn down at last by such a variety of diseases. Yet when his body was even in such a state of debility, he could not be induced to spare himself. Nay, if at any period he relinquished his public duties, which he always did very much against his inclination, he still continued, in his own house, to give advice to such as consulted him, or, unfatigued himself, wearied his amanuensis by dictating to him. His two very serious Exhortations to the Polonese against the blasphemous enemies of the holy Trinity, his full answers, both oral and written, to the deputies of the synod of Lyons, his Commentaries on the four Books of Moses, written first in Latin, and translated by himself into French, and his Commentary on Joshua, his last undertaking, which he commenced this year, and finished on his death-bed, afford ample testimony to the truth of this assertion.

On the 6th of February, 1564, the beginning of his eternal happiness, and of our greatest and most long-continued grief, he delivered his last sermon with difficulty, in consequence of asthmatic oppression. From this period he taught no more in public, except that he was carried at different times, until the last day of March, to the meeting of the congregation, and addressed them in a few words. His diseases, contracted by incredible labours of mind and body, were various and complicated, as he states himself, in a letter written to his physicians at Montpelier. He was naturally of a spare and feeble frame, tending to consumption; during sleep he seemed almost awake, and spent a great part of the year in preaching, teaching, and dictating. For at least ten years he never dined, and the only food he took was at supper, so that it is astonishing how he could so long escape consumption. He frequently suffered from megrim, which he cured only by fasting, so as occasionally to refrain from food for thirty-six hours. But by overstraining his voice, and, as was discovered too late, by an immoderate use of aloes, he suffered from hemorrhoids, which degenerated into

ulcers, and five years before his death he was occasionally attacked by a spitting of blood. Gout in the right leg, frequently returning pains of colic, and stone, which he had only felt a few months before his death, followed the removal of the quartan fever. The physicians neglected no remedies, and he observed the directions of his medical attendants with a strictness which none could surpass. In other respects, where the labours of the mind were concerned, he was so very careless of his health, that the most excruciating pains of the megrim never interrupted his preaching. Though tormented by so many diseases, no one ever heard him utter a word unbecoming a man of bravery, much less a Christian. Only lifting up his eyes to heaven, he used to say, "How long, O Lord!" for even in health he often had this sentence on his lips, when he spoke of the calamities of his brethren, with whose sufferings he was both day and night more afflicted than with any of his own. When admonished and entreated by us to forbear, at least in his sickness, from the labour of dictating, or at least of writing, "What, then," he said, "would you have my Lord find me idle when he cometh?"

On the 10th of March, we, his brother ministers, on paying our visit together as usual, found him dressed, and sitting at the little table, where he was accustomed to write or study. On seeing us, he sat silent, resting his forehead on his hand for some length of time, as he frequently did when engaged in study and meditation; and then, with a voice occasionally interrupted, but a kind and cheerful countenance, he said, "I return you, dearest brethren, my most hearty thanks for all your solicitude on my account, and hope in a fortnight I shall be present, for the last time, at your consistory," (which was established for discipline of morals,) "for I think that the Lord will then manifest his pleasure with respect to me, and take me to himself." He did attend the consistory on the 24th of March, as usual, and when the business was finished in a peaceable manner, he observed,

that he felt some further continuance was granted him by the Lord. He then took up a French New Testament, read to us himself some of the marginal annotations, and requested the opinion of his brethren, since he had undertaken to correct them. He was worse on the following day, having been fatigued with the labours of the preceding; but on the 27th he was carried to the door of the senate house, and being supported by two of his attendants, walked into the hall, and after proposing a new rector of the school to the senate, he uncovered his head, and returned them thanks for the favours already conferred upon him, and particularly for their attention in his last illness. "For," he said, "I think I have entered this house for the last time." Having uttered these words with difficulty, and a faltering voice, he took his last farewell of the senate, overwhelmed with sorrow, and bathed in tears. On the 2d of April, which was Easter day, although suffering from great debility, he was carried to church in a chair, was present with the whole congregation, received the Lord's Supper from my hand, and joined in singing the hymn, with a trembling voice, but with manifest expressions of joy shining forth from his dying countenance. On the 25th of April he made his will in the following manner:

THE WILL OF JOHN CALVIN.

In the name of the Lord.—Amen. In the year 1564, and 25th day of April, I, Peter Chenalat, citizen and notary of Genève, do witness and declare, that I was sent for by that excellent character, John Calvin, minister of the word of God in this church of Genève, and enrolled citizen of the same, who, being indisposed in body, but sound in mind, said he was desirous to make his testament, and to express the judgment of his last will; and requested me to take it down, and write what he should dictate and declare by word of mouth; which I profess I immediately did, and wrote down word by

word as he pronounced and dictated, without omission or addition, in the following form, dictated by him :

In the name of the Lord.—Amen. I, John Calvin, minister of the word of God in the church of Geneva, finding myself so much oppressed and afflicted with various diseases, that I think the Lord God has determined speedily to remove me out of this world, have ordered to be made and written, my testament, and declaration of my last will, in form and manner following: First, I give thanks to God, that taking compassion on me whom he had created, and placed in this world, he not only delivered me by his power out of the deep darkness of idolatry, into which I was plunged, that he might bring me into the light of his gospel, and make me a partaker of the doctrine of salvation, of which I was most unworthy; that with the same goodness and mercy he has graciously and kindly borne with my multiplied transgressions and sins, for which I deserved to be rejected and cut off by him; and has also exercised towards me such great compassion and clemency, that he has condescended to use my labour in preaching and publishing the truth of his gospel. I also testify and declare, that it is my full intention to pass the remainder of my life in the same faith and religion, which he has delivered to me by his gospel; having no other defence or refuge of salvation than his gratuitous adoption, on which alone my safety depends. I also embrace with my whole heart the mercy which he exercises towards me for the sake of Jesus Christ, atoning for my crimes by the merits of his death and passion, that in this way satisfaction may be made for all my transgressions and offences, and the remembrance of them blotted out. I farther testify and declare that, as a suppliant, I humbly implore of him to grant me to be so washed and purified by the blood of that sovereign Redeemer, shed for the sins of the human race, that I may be permitted to stand before his tribunal in the image of the Redeemer himself. I likewise declare, that according to the measure of grace and mercy which God has

vouchsafed me, I have diligently made it my endeavour, both in my sermons, writings, and commentaries, purely and uncorruptly to preach his word, and faithfully to interpret his sacred Scriptures. I testify and declare, that in all the controversies and disputes, which I have conducted with the enemies of the gospel, I have made use of no craftiness, nor corrupt and sophistical arts, but have been engaged in defending the truth with candour and sincerity.

But, alas ! my study, and my zeal, if they deserve the name, have been so remiss and languid, that I confess innumerable things have been wanting in me to discharge the duties of my office in an excellent manner ; and unless the infinite bounty of God had been present, all my study would have been vain and transient. I also acknowledge that unless the same goodness had accompanied me, the endowments of mind bestowed upon me by God, must have made me more and more chargeable with guilt and inactivity before his tribunal. And on these grounds I witness and declare, that I hope for no other refuge of salvation than this alone,—that since God is a Father of mercy, he will show himself a Father to me, who confess myself a miserable sinner. Further, I will, after my departure out of this life, that my body be committed to the earth in that manner, and with those funeral rites, which are usual in this city and church, until the day of the blessed resurrection shall come. As for the small patrimony which God has bestowed upon me, and which I have determined to dispose of in this will, I appoint Anthony Calvin, my very dearly beloved brother, my heir, but only as a mark of respect. Let him take charge of, and keep as his own, my silver goblet, which was given me as a present by Mr. Varanne : and I desire he will be content with it. As for the residue of my property, I commit it to his care with this request, that he restore it to his children at his death. I bequeath also to the school for boys, ten golden crowns, to be given by my brother and legal heir, and to poor strangers the same sum. Also to Jane, daughter

of Charles Costans and of my half-sister by the paternal side, the sum of ten crowns. Furthermore, I wish my heir to give, on his death, to Samuel and John, sons of my said brother, my nephews, out of my estate, each forty crowns, after his death; and to my nieces Ann, Susan, and Dorothy, each thirty golden crowns. To my nephew David, as a proof of his light and trifling conduct, I bequeath only twenty-five golden crowns.

This is the sum of all the patrimony and property which God hath given me, as far as I am able to ascertain, in books, moveables, my whole household furniture, and all other goods and chattels. Should it however prove more, I desire it may be equally distributed between my nephews and nieces aforesaid, not excluding my nephew David, should he, by the favour of God, return to a useful manner of life.

Should it however exceed the sum already written, I do not think it will be attended with much difficulty, especially after paying my just debts, which I have given in charge to my said brother, on whose fidelity and kindness I confide. On this account I appoint him executor of this my last testament with Laurence de Normandie, a character of tried worth, giving them full power and authority, without a more exact command and order of court, to make an inventory of my goods. I give them also power to sell my moveables, that from the money thus procured they may fulfil the conditions of my above-written will, which I have set forth and declared this 25th of April, in the year of our Lord 1564.

JOHN CALVIN.

When I, Peter Chenalat, the above-mentioned notary, had written this last will, the same John Calvin immediately confirmed it by his usual subscription and hand-writing. On the following day, April 26th, 1564, the same tried character, John Calvin, commanded me to be called, together with Theodore Beza, Raymond Chauvet, Michael Cops, Louis Enoch, Nicholas Colladon, James de Bordes, minis-

ters and preachers of the word of God in this church of Geneva, and also the excellent Henry Scringer, professor of arts, all citizens of Geneva, and in their presence he hath declared and testified that he dictated to me this his will in the words and form above written. He ordered me also to recite it in their hearing, who had been called for that purpose, which I profess to have done, with a loud voice, and in an articulate manner. After thus reading it aloud, he testified and declared it to be his last will and testament, and desired it to be ratified and confirmed. As a testimony and corroboration of this, he requested them all to witness the same will with their hands. This was immediately done by them on the day and year above written, at Geneva, in the street called the Canons, in the house of the said testator. In proof and witness of this I have written and subscribed with my own hand, and sealed with the common seal of our supreme magistrate, the will above mentioned.

P. CHENALAT.

Having made this will, Calvin sent to inform the four syndics, and all the senators, that he wished once more before he departed this life, to address them in the senate-room, whither he hoped to be carried the following day. The senators answered, they would rather come to him, and requested him to have a regard to his health. The next day they all repaired from the senate-room to the house of Calvin. After mutual salutations, and an apology on his part, because they had waited on him, when it was his duty to have visited them, he commenced by stating "that he had for some time desired to have this interview, but deferred it until he felt more certainly assured of his dissolution." He then said, "I return you my warmest thanks, honoured Lords, for conferring such great honours on me, who had done nothing to merit them, and for manifesting such forbearance towards my numerous infirmities, which I always considered the strongest proof of your uncommon kindness.

Though in the discharge of my ministerial duty I have been engaged in various disputes, and have endured numerous insults, a necessary part of the trials even of the best characters, yet I know and acknowledge that none of these have befallen me from any fault of yours. I earnestly entreat you also, if I have not performed my duty in any instance as I ought, to ascribe it rather to want of ability, than to want of will to serve you. For I can testify with sincerity, that I have felt a deep and lively interest in the welfare of your republic; and, if I have not fully discharged all the duties of my station, I have certainly exerted myself to the utmost in promoting the public welfare.

“ Were I not to acknowledge that the Lord has sometimes on his part condescended to grant that my services have not been altogether without advantage to you, I should justly deserve to be charged with dissimulation. But I again earnestly entreat your pardon for having performed so little either in my private or public capacity, in comparison with what I ought to have done. I certainly grant with the greatest readiness, that I am very much indebted to you on account of your patience in enduring that vehemence of mine, which has sometimes been immoderate. I trust God himself has pardoned all these my sins.*

* Here is the humble and candid confession of a Christian. Calvin was a man of ardent feelings, and they may at times have betrayed him into angry and hasty expressions. And “ amidst the incessant and violent attacks which he received, and the uninterrupted warfare which he had to carry on with the advocates of error, he must have been more than mortal, if he had never spoken hastily or harshly. But a few incidental actions, contrary to a man’s general conduct, do not constitute *character*: and after every thing of this kind which can be mustered, it will still be true that *characteristically* Calvin was not a traducer or calumniator, but the possessor of a meek spirit, a governed tongue, and a guarded pen. He must, on the whole, be ranked not only among the greatest but the best of men.”—*Rees’ New Encyclop. Am. Ed.*

Middleton quotes Toplady as saying that “ Calvin has been tax-

“Touching the doctrine you have heard from me, I testify that I have not taught the word of God intrusted to me in a rash and uncertain manner, but with purity and sincerity. Had I acted otherwise, I should have been as fully assured of God’s anger, already impending over my head, as I now feel confident that my labours in teaching have not been displeasing to him. And I testify this before God, and in your

ed with fierceness and bigotry. But his meekness and benevolence were as eminent as the malice of his traducers is shameless. I shall give one single instance of his modesty and gentleness. While he was a very young man, disputes ran high between Luther and some other Reformers, concerning the manner of Christ’s presence in the holy sacrament. Luther, whose temper was naturally warm and rough, heaped many hard names on the divines who differed from him on the article of consubstantiation, and, among the rest, Calvin came in for his dividend of abuse. Being informed of the harsh appellations he received he meekly replied in a letter to Bullinger, “It is a frequent saying with me, that if Luther should even call me a devil, I hold him notwithstanding in such veneration, that I shall always own him to be an illustrious servant of God; who, though he abounds in extraordinary virtues, is not without considerable imperfections.”

This letter to Bullinger, which was written to allay the exasperated feelings of those whom Luther had provoked by his asperity, is as follows. “I hear that Luther has at length burst forth, with atrocious invectives, not only against you, but against us all. Now I scarcely dare beg of you and your colleagues to be silent, because it is not just that the innocent should be thus abused, and not be allowed to defend themselves; and besides, it is difficult to determine whether it is expedient. I wish you to recall these things to your mind: how great a man Luther is, and with how great gifts he excels; also with what fortitude and constancy of mind, with what efficacy of learning, he hath hitherto laboured and watched to destroy the kingdom of Antichrist, and to propagate, at the same time, the doctrine of salvation. *I often say, if he should call me a devil, I hold him in such honour, that I*

presence, so much the more willingly, because I cannot doubt that Satan, after his usual manner, will raise up wick-

*would acknowledge him an eminent servant of God.** But as he is endowed with great virtues, so he labors under great failings. I wish he had studied more effectually to restrain his impetuosity of temper, which breaks forth in every direction; that he had always turned his vehemence, which is so natural to him, against the enemies of the truth, and not equally brandished it against the servants of God; and that he had given more diligent labour to search out his own faults. He has been surrounded by too many flatterers, seeing he is also too much inclined by nature to indulge himself. It is our duty to reprehend what is evil in him, in such a manner as to yield very much to his excellent qualities. Consider, I beseech you, with your colleagues, in the first place, that you have to deal with a chief servant of Christ, to whom we are all much indebted. And then, that by contending, you will effect nothing, but a pleasure to the impious, who will triumph not so much over us as over the gospel. For reviling one another, they will give us more than full credit. But when we preach Christ with one consent and one mouth, they pervert this union, to diminish our faith, by which they disclose, more than they would, the importance of our united labours. I wish you to examine and reflect upon these things, rather than dwell on what Luther has merited by his intemperate language. Lest that befall us, therefore, which Paul denounces, that by biting and devouring one another we should be consumed; however he may have provoked us, we must rather abstain from the contest, than increase the wound, to the common injury of the church."

This letter fully shows that Calvin's disposition was tender and affectionate, and that his temper, perhaps naturally irritable, was under the restraint of a Christian spirit.

* Luther, in his asperity against the Zuinglians, Bullinger, and others, had used harsh language; and Calvin, who was anxious to prevent the controversy, states his own feelings, supposing Luther should call him a *devil*, &c., to allay the resentment of Bullinger and the other pastors of Zurich.

ed, vain, light-minded, ambitious men, to corrupt the sound doctrine which you have heard from me as the servant of God."

Then passing, to those immense benefits which they had received from the Lord, he said, "I am the person who can best testify from how many and great dangers the hand of the Lord hath delivered you. You see, moreover, in what circumstances you are placed. Whether in prosperity or adversity, keep this truth, I beseech you, constantly before your eyes,—that it is God alone who can give stability to kingdoms and states, and on this account it is his pleasure to be worshipped by mortal men. Remember it was the testimony of the illustrious David, that he fell when he enjoyed profound peace; from which he never would have arisen, had not the Lord, with singular favour, stretched out his own hand to his relief. What then may the lot be of such little weak mortals, when this prince, distinguished for power and fortitude, experienced such a fall! It requires, therefore, great humility of mind, that you may walk with care and great fear of God, relying on his defence alone. You will thus be assured of the continuance of the same protection which you have hitherto so often in reality experienced, and may proceed with stability under his aid, even when your safety and security may, as it were, hang suspended from a slender thread. If your affairs are prosperous, be careful, I request you, not to exalt yourselves, like the profane, but rather, with deep submission of mind, return thanks to God for all your blessings. If your affairs are adverse, and death, therefore, surrounds you on all sides, still trust in him who raises up even the dead. Nay, consider on such an occasion with the greatest earnestness, that God is in this manner awakening you from sloth, that you may learn more fully to look to him alone with entire confidence.

"If you would preserve this republic in security, see to it with unremitting care, that the sacred seat of authority, in which God hath placed you, be not defiled with the pollution of sin; for he is the only sovereign God, King of kings,

and Lord of all lords, who will honour those that honour him ; but, on the other hand, will cast down, and cover with disgrace, those by whom he is despised. Worship him, therefore, according to his precepts, and let your minds be more and more intensely directed to the obeying of his will, for we are always at a very great distance from the performance of our duty. I know the temper and manner of you all, and am aware of your needing exhortation. There is none, even of those who excel, without many imperfections ; and let each in this case examine himself with care, and ask of the Lord the supply of his known deficiencies.

“ We see what vices reign in the greatest number of the assemblies convened in the world. Some, cold and indifferent to the public interest, pursue with eagerness their own private emoluments ; others, are only intent upon the gratification of their own passions ; some make a bad use of the distinguished talents bestowed upon them by God ; while others are vain-glorious, and confidently demand that the rest of their fellow-counsellors should sanction their opinions.

“ I admonish the aged not to envy such young persons as they find to be endowed by God with particular gifts ; and I warn younger persons to conduct themselves with modesty, and to avoid all presumption. Let there be no interruption of one another in the performance of your duties. Shun animosities, and all that acrimony which has diverted so many from a proper line of conduct in the discharge of their office. You will avoid these evils, if each of you confines himself within his proper sphere, and all perform with fidelity the part intrusted to them by the state. In civil trials, I beseech you to avoid all favour, or enmity ; use no crooked arts to pervert justice ; let none, by any plausible address of his own, prevent the laws from having their due effect ; nor depart from equity and goodness. If the evil passions excite temptation in any one, let him resist them with firmness, and look to Him by whom he has been placed on the

seat of judgment, and ask the same God for the guidance of his Holy Spirit.

“Finally, I beseech you to pardon all my infirmities, which I acknowledge and confess before God, and his angels, and in your presence also, my honourable lords.”

Having finished his discourse, he offered up a prayer to the almighty and most merciful God, to shower down upon them, in still greater abundance, his best gifts, and by his Holy Spirit to direct all their consultations to the welfare of the whole republic. He then gave his right hand to each separately, and bade them adieu. All the senators departed in tears, manifesting deep sorrow, as if it was their last interview with a common father.

Calvin addressed all of us ministers under the jurisdiction of Geneva, who were assembled in his chamber, and at his request, on the 28th of April, in the following terms:—
“Stand fast, my brethren, after my decease, in the work which you have begun, and be not discouraged, for the Lord will preserve this church and republic against the threats of its enemies. Let all divisions be removed far from you, and embrace one another with mutual charity. Consider on all occasions what you owe to the church in which the Lord hath stationed you, and let nothing draw you from it. It will indeed be easy for such as are wearied of their flocks to find means for escaping from their duty by intrigue, but they will learn by experience that the Lord cannot be deceived.

“On my first arrival in this city the gospel was indeed preached, but every thing was in the greatest confusion, as if Christianity consisted in nothing else than the overturning of images. Not a few wicked men arose in the church, from whom I suffered many great indignities ; but the Lord our God himself so strengthened me, and banished all fear even from my mind, who am by no means distinguished for natural courage (I state the real fact,) that I was enabled to resist all their attempts. I returned hither from Strasburg,

in obedience to a call, against my inclination ; because I thought it would not be productive of any advantage. I knew not what the Lord had determined, and my situation was full of very many, and very great difficulties. But proceeding in this work, I perceived at length that the Lord had in reality blessed my labours. Do you, therefore, brethren, persist in your vocation ; preserve the established order ; use at the same time every exertion to retain the people in obedience to the doctrine delivered, for there are yet among you some wicked and stubborn characters. Affairs, as you see, are not now in an unsettled state, on which account you will be more criminal before God, if they are subverted by your inactivity. I declare my brethren, that I have lived united with you in the strictest bonds of true and sincere affection, and I now take my leave of you with the same feelings. If you have at any time found me too peevish under my disease, I entreat your forgiveness, and I return you my warmest thanks, because during my confinement you have discharged the burden of the duties assigned me."

After this address he reached out his right hand to each of us, and we then took leave of him with hearts overwhelmed with sorrow and grief, and eyes flowing with tears.

On the 2d of May, having been informed by Farel, in a letter, that he was determined, though now eighty years old, and in a state of health rendered infirm by age, to come and see him from Neuchatel, for Viret's residence was at a yet greater distance, he thus answered him in Latin :—

"Farewell, my best and most faithful brother ! and since God is pleased you should survive me in this world, live mindful of our friendship, which has been of service to the church of God, and whose fruits we shall enjoy in heaven. Do not expose yourself to fatigue on my account. I respire with difficulty, and continually expect to draw my last breath. It is sufficient happiness for me that I live and die in Christ, who is gain to his people in life and death. Again farewell, with the brethren.—Geneva, 2d May, 1564."

The good old man, however, came to Geneva, and after they had enjoyed an interview with each other, he returned the next day to Neuchatel.

Calvin spent the remainder of his days, until death, in almost constant prayer. His voice indeed was interrupted by the difficulty of respiration; but his eyes, which retained their brilliancy to the last, uplifted to heaven, and his serene countenance, were certain proofs of the fervour of his devotion, and of his trust and confidence in God. He often in his prayers repeated the words of David, "Lord, I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it;" and at times those of Hezekiah, "I did mourn like a dove." Once also I heard him say, "Thou, Lord, bruise me, but I am abundantly satisfied, since it is thy hand." His doors must have stood open day and night, if all had been admitted, who from sentiments of duty were desirous to see him; but as he could not, from difficulty in speaking, direct his discourse to them, he requested they would rather pray for him, than be solicitous about paying their visits. Often, also, though I always found him glad to receive me, he was very scrupulous respecting the least interruptions thus given to the duties of my office, so sparing was he of the time which he knew ought to be spent in the service of the church; and his conscientious feelings, lest he should give the smallest trouble to his friends, exceeded the bounds of moderation. Such was the manner of comforting both himself and friends until the 19th of May, when we ministers were accustomed to meet relative to the censure of morals, and to take a friendly meal together two days before Whitsuntide, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. He expressed a wish that the common supper should on this day be prepared at his house, and rallying his little strength that remained, was carried from his bed to the adjoining chamber, when he said, "I come to see you, my brethren, for the last time, never more to sit down with you at table." Such was the commencement of one of the most melancholy repasts we ever took. He then offered up a

prayer, took a small portion of food, and discoursed with us at supper in as cheerful a manner as his weakness permitted. Before supper was fully finished, he ordered himself to be carried back to the adjoining chamber, and addressing the company with a distinctly smiling countenance, said, "This intervening wall will not prevent me from being present with you in spirit, though absent in body." His prediction was fulfilled, for from this day he always lay in an horizontal posture, his small body, except his countenance, which was very little changed, being so much emaciated, that breath only remained. On the 27th of May, the day of his death, he appeared stronger, and spoke with less difficulty; but this was the last effort of nature, for about eight o'clock in the evening, certain symptoms of dissolution suddenly manifested themselves. When one of his domestics brought one of the brethren, and me, who had only just left him, this intelligence, I returned immediately with all speed, and found he had died in so very tranquil a manner, that without his feet and hands being in any respect discomposed, or his breathing increased, his senses, judgment, and in some measure his voice, remaining entire to his very last gasp, he appeared more to resemble one in a state of sleep than death.*

Thus this splendid light of the reformation was taken from us with the setting sun. During that night, and the following day, great lamentation prevailed throughout the city, for the republic regretted the want of one of its wisest citizens, the church deplored the death of its faithful pastor, the college sorrowed for such an incomparable professor, and all grieved for the loss of a common parent and comforter bestowed upon them by God himself. Many of the citizens

* Francis Junius, in his animadversions upon Bellarmin, says that he was at Geneva when Calvin closed his life; but that he never saw, heard, knew, thought, or even dreamed of the blasphemies and curses which the papists said he uttered at his death.

were desirous to see him after he was dead, and could with difficulty be torn from his remains. Some strangers, also, who had come from a distance with a view to see and hear him, among whom was the very distinguished English ambassador to the French court, were very desirous to see only the body of the deceased. At first, indeed, they were admitted; but afterwards, because the curiosity was excessive, and it was necessary to silence the calumnies of enemies, his friends considered the best plan would be to close the coffin next morning, being the Lord's Day; his corpse, as usual, having been wrapped in a linen cloth. At two o'clock in the afternoon on Sunday, his body was carried to the common burying-place, called Plein Palais, without extraordinary pomp. His funeral, however, was attended by the members of the senate, the pastors, all the professors of the college, and a great proportion of the citizens. The abundance of tears shed on this occasion afforded the strongest evidence of the sense which they entertained of their loss. According to his own directions, no hillock, no monument was erected to his memory, on which account I wrote the following epitaph:—

Why in this humble and unnoticed tomb
Is Calvin laid—the dread of falling Rome,
Mourn'd by the good, and by the wicked fear'd,
By all who knew his excellence revered;
From whom ev'n virtue's self might virtue learn,
And young and old its value may discern?
'Twas modesty, his constant friend on earth,
That laid this stone, unsculptured with a name;
Oh! happy turf, enrich'd with Calvin's worth,
More lasting far than marble is thy fame!

He lived fifty-four years, ten months, and seventeen days, and spent half of this time in the sacred ministry of the gospel. His stature was of the middle size; his complexion dark and pale; his eyes brilliant even till death, expressed the acuteness of his understanding. His dress, neither highly ornamented nor slovenly, was well suited to his singular mo-

desty; his victuals were so moderate that they were very far removed from the pride of luxury, or the littleness of parsimony; his diet was very sparing, since during many years he took only one meal a day, assigning the weakness of his stomach as the cause. He lived nearly without sleep. His power of memory was almost incredible; so that he could immediately recognise, after the lapse of many years, any whom he had only once seen; and though he had been frequently interrupted for many hours while in the act of dictating, he would, without being reminded, forthwith resume the thread of his subject; and never forget, though overpowered by an infinite multiplicity of business, such things as it was important for him in his ministerial character to know. His judgment was so sound and exact on all subjects, that his decisions seemed almost oracular; nor do I remember an instance of any error being committed by those who followed his advice.

He despised an artificial eloquence, and was sparing in his words, but an accomplished writer; and no theologian, until the present time, it may be said, without disparaging any, hath written with greater purity, gravity, and judgment than Calvin, though none either in our own age, or that of our fathers, has written so much as our author. By close study, during his youth, by uncommon accuracy of judgment, confirmed by the practice of dictating to an amanuensis, he was always able to speak with propriety and gravity, and his language in conversation differed very little from his written compositions. The consistency and uniformity of his doctrine from first to last, are scarcely to be paralleled in any divine of the present time. With respect to his manners, though he was naturally grave, yet, in the intercourse of social life, no one was distinguished by more suavity. He exercised great prudence and forbearance towards all such infirmities in others, as are consistent with integrity, so that he did not overawe, or raise the blush in his weak brethren, by unseasonable or too severe reproof, nor cherish their vices

by connivance or adulation. He was as severe and indignant an enemy of flattery and dissimulation, and of every kind of wickedness, especially where religion was concerned, as he was a keen and ardent friend of truth, simplicity, and candour. He was naturally of an irritable temperament, and this fault was augmented by the excessive laboriousness of his life. But the Spirit of the Lord had so taught him to moderate his anger, that he was never heard to utter a word unbecoming a good man, or which went beyond the bounds of virtue; nor did he ever speak with rashness, unless his mind was roused when treating on the subject of religion, or when engaged with obstinate characters.

No attentive reader of the lives of those men who, even in profane history, displayed more than usual attachment to any kind of heroism, will be astonished to find so many excellent qualities and splendid virtues, both of a domestic and public nature, to have called forth such a host of enemies. Nor will any one be surprised that such a most undaunted defender of sound doctrine, and so steady a follower of purity of life, should have experienced such violent opposition from the enemies of true religion and morality. But he will consider this fact chiefly to be worthy of his astonishment, that one man alone, like some Christian Hercules, could have been sufficient for subduing so many monsters by the use of that most powerful club, the word of God. Calvin achieved as many triumphs as Satan raised up enemies to oppose him, for it is certain he had none, among the great crowd of his adversaries, but such as had proclaimed war both against piety and virtue. Those enemies brand Calvin as a heretic, but Christ suffered under the same reproach, and that even from the priests themselves. He was expelled, they say, from Geneva; true, but he was solicited to return. What happened to the apostles? What to Athanasius? What to Chrysostom? Many other charges are brought against him by another class of enemies, but what are they? He is charged with ambition, yea, with aspiring at a new Popedom;

—an extraordinary accusation against a man, who preferred this kind of life, this republic, this church, which I may truly call the very seat and abode of poverty, to all other honours. They say again that he coveted wealth. Yet all his worldly goods, including his library, which brought a high price, scarcely amounted to three hundred crowns; so that he might very justly, as well as very elegantly, in order to refute this calumny of unparalleled impudence, use the following words: “If I fail in my lifetime to persuade some people that I am not a lover of money, my death will convince them of the contrary.” The senate can certainly testify to the smallness of his stipend, and so far was he from being dissatisfied with what they gave him, as positively to refuse an advance when offered. Some object against him, that his brother, Anthony Calvin, divorced his former wife for adultery, when she was discovered. What would they have said had he continued to live with her? If the dishonour of an unchaste female is brought against him, what shall become of the family of Jacob, of David, nay, of the Son of God himself, who expressly marked out a devil, as one of his own disciples? His numerous labours answer the charge of his delighting in luxury and indulgence. Some are not ashamed, both in their speeches and writings, to accuse him of reigning in the church and state at Geneva, where he had, as it were, elevated himself to a high tribunal. Claudius Sponse, of the Sorbonne, the rhapsodist, dared to accuse him, in a very malevolent book, of introducing some living man, wholly unknown, instead of a dead one, whom he pretended to raise to life in the presence of the whole people, which is as disgraceful a falsehood, as if he had said that he was Pope of Rome. What accusation will not some dare to bring against him? But such false statements require no refutation; and neither those who were acquainted with so distinguished a person during his life, nor the judicious in future ages, who shall form their opinion of his cha-

racter from his writings, will pay the least regard to such gross and unfounded calumnies.

These are the principal events in the life and death of Calvin, which have come under my own immediate observation during the last sixteen years. I feel myself justly warranted to declare, that in him was presented to all men, one of the most beautiful and illustrious examples of the pious life and triumphant death of a real Christian; and as it is easy for malevolence to calumniate his character, so the most exalted virtue will find it difficult to imitate his conduct.

THE
CHARACTER OF CALVIN.

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

FEW writers or divines, in any age, have been more exposed to the calumnies of their enemies, or less flattered by their friends, than John Calvin. His genius, his talents, his learning, his unwearied labour, his persevering activity, and his striking disinterestedness, secured for him no small share in the reformation. His system of church government, which originated in a great measure from the peculiar circumstances of affairs in Geneva, and was extended to France, Scotland, Holland, &c., gave him a more extended influence, and undisputed power, than he would otherwise have obtained, and contributed also to make him an object of hatred to the Roman hierarchy.

A deep and well founded conviction that he has long laboured in my own country under a heavy load of unmerited obloquy induces me to draw a few outlines of his character. In doing this, I have been guided by all the authentic documents which I could command, without paying any regard to the statements either of his friends or foes.

Timidity, nay, even pusillanimity was one of the most striking features in the natural character of Calvin. He wanted courage, as a man, to face and encounter the commonest danger, while, as a Christian, he was prepared to

meet the violent assaults of the most powerful emperors and monarchs, and to smile, with the most composed complacency, at the grim countenance of the king of terrors in his most horrid forms. He placed no confidence in himself, but depended upon the protection, and guidance, and strength of the arm of Omnipotence. He knew that his own power was nothing; but, relying upon the promises of unchanging Truth and infinite Love, no dominion, however great—no opposition, however violent—made him shrink from his Christian duty, or in any instance either to deny or recant the truth. He rested safe and secure under the panoply of the Lord of Hosts, whether threatened by the blasts of the pope and his minions, or attacked in Geneva by the vilest and most unprincipled of men. His religious and moral courage—the gift of the Holy Spirit—in which he was not surpassed by Luther himself, never forsook him; and he was equally intrepid in exposing what he considered the errors or improper compliances of the most distinguished leaders in the reformation, as he was unflinching in his opposition to every kind of heresy, and every heresiarch whose views diminished the simplicity, undermined the truth, or obscured the glory of the gospel. Our reformer, in carrying on his own unceasing combat with Anti-christ, used no armour but what he took from the impregnable tower of divine truth, and gloried in no strength, but the love, the righteousness, the grace, and regenerating influences of the Most High.

Calvin from his earliest years, was unwearied in the pursuit of knowledge, and from the first moment that the book of God was opened to his mind by the Spirit of truth, to the last thread of his existence, no labour, however great—no study, however arduous—no meditation, however intense, retarded him in his glorious career of doing all in his power for extending the kingdom of heaven. His most violent and implacable enemies have never dared to deny him this praise, and even Voltaire holds him up to the admiration and imitation of mankind for his almost unparalleled industry, and his

admirable disinterestedness.* If all his published and unpublished works were translated, they would form at least seventy octavo volumes, which were prepared in the midst of constant preaching and lecturing, of unceasing care for the church of God, continued controversies with the opponents of the gospel, arduous struggles for preserving the doctrines and discipline of the church of Geneva, frequent trials from his enemies, and repeated indisposition, during the short period of thirty-one years. He lived and laboured ever mindful of the coming of his Saviour; and was distinguished by study, contemplation, watchfulness, thanksgiving, and prayer.

Calvin's labours were incessant. He delivered more than 300 sermons and lectures every year; and his correspondence, commentaries, controversial writings, and admonitions, &c., would form annually, during the period of thirty one years, between two and three volumes octavo. The following extract from a letter to Farel, written in 1539,

* Middleton says there are many among the Roman Catholics, who would do justice to Calvin, if they durst speak their thoughts. Guy Patin has taught us to make this judgment; for he observes that Joseph Scaliger said that Calvin was the greatest wit the world had seen, since the Apostles. He acknowledged that no man ever understood ecclesiastical history like Calvin, who at the age of twenty-two, was the most learned man in Europe. And he tells us that John de Monluc, bishop of Valence, used to say that Calvin was the greatest divine in the world. Patin caused the life of Calvin, written by Papyrius Masso, to be made public. This life has done a great deal of mischief to the copies of Bolsec; for who can read it without laughing at those who accuse this minister of loving good wine and cheerful company? The papists, at last, have been obliged to acknowledge the falsity of these infamous calumnies published against the morals of Calvin. Their best pens have been contented to say, that though he was free from corporeal vices, he was not so from spiritual ones, such as slander, passion, avarice and pride.—2 *Middleton*, 57, 58.

when he published his Commentary on Romans, gives us a clear view of the active character and persevering labours of our reformer. "When the messenger called for my book, I had *twenty* sheets to revise—to preach—to read to the congregation—to write four letters—to attend to some controversies—and to return answers to more than ten persons who interrupted me in the midst of my labours for advice." If Protestant divines, in the nineteenth century, exhibited the same perseverance and alacrity in business which distinguished the great luminaries of the reformation, we should not hear of complaints about the increase of the Roman Catholics. The hierarchy of the church of Rome, both in England, in Ireland, and Scotland, can only be overcome by *out-preaching, out-praying, and out-living* them.

There is no part of the conduct of the reformers more worthy of imitation than their admirable disinterestedness. The following passage from a letter of Calvin to Farel, written in 1539, proves under how great a pressure of poverty his Commentary to the Romans was written. "The Waldensian brethren are indebted to me for a crown, one part of which I lent them, and the other I paid to their messenger, who came with my brother to bring the letter from Sonerius. I requested them to give it you as a partial payment of my debt. I will return you the rest when I am able. My present condition is so very poor, that I have not one penny. It is singular, although my expenses are so great, that I must still live upon my own money unless I would burden my brethren. It is not easy for me to take that care of my health which you so affectionately recommended." Had the ministers of the gospel in all ages displayed the same disinterestedness of conduct which marked Calvin, who left only three hundred crowns, even scandal itself could never have accused the clergy of avarice. Had all our archbishops and bishops exhibited the same spirit of love which distinguished the late bishop of Durham, who expended between two and three hundred thousand pounds in religious and be-

nevolent purposes, and in giving money even for the building of Dissenting places of worship, no true Christian could have complained on account of the large annual stipends which the English bishops receive. Let the Dissenting ministers imitate the conduct of John Wesley, who spent more than twenty thousand pounds in promoting the interests of religion and philanthropy, and died nearly as poor as Calvin; and the constant example of disinterested conduct, which the clergy of all denominations would then exhibit could not fail to increase the liberal character of the laymen.

His learning was uncommonly accurate, and so extensive that Scaliger considered him the profoundest scholar since the days of the apostles. No man has made less parade and show of his knowledge, or been more assiduous in rendering it subservient to the great purpose of religion. The defence, illustration, and explanation of the Scriptures formed the great leading object of his life; and his writings will ever remain a monument of his zeal and ardour in the cause of God and truth. Although he knew how to appreciate every kind and every department of literature and science, yet he was fully convinced that the treasury of the divine word, which had for so many centuries been concealed from the world by a tyrannical hierarchy, could only be unlocked by the most patient research, and extensive acquaintance with all the stores of ancient and modern knowledge.*

Few men seem to have possessed a stronger or more retentive memory, both for words and things, than this great luminary of the reformation. Close attention, clearness of thinking, order, frequent repetition, uncommon pleasure, and deep interest, in the great object of his pursuit, gave him an accuracy, extent, and quickness of retentive faculties rarely surpassed. He laid up all his varied stores of learning in well-

* Which gives a light to every age.

Which gives, but borrows none.

arranged compartments, and was enabled to take them out for every requisite purpose with great facility and correctness.

His judgment, logical sagacity, and accuracy were in no respect inferior to his memory ; and few writers surpassed him in perceiving the various bearings of the subject which he investigated. He is indebted to this faculty for his uncommon power of generalisation and success in making systems, and giving well-digested and clear catechetical instructions, which he highly valued as containing the true seeds of doctrine. All his writings are intended to cast light upon each other, and few authors of any age have exhibited greater uniformity, and consistency of sentiment—one of the surest marks of a sound judgment—than our reformer. Strong expressions occasionally occur, as in all controversial writers ; but by carefully weighing and comparing them with each other, their harshness will be found to be much diminished. The scope, drift, relation, and connexion of a passage rarely escape the minuteness, clearness, and completeness of his discriminative powers.

His imagination is greatly inferior to the other faculties of his mind ; and he very rarely indulges in the fascinations of this delightful and uncommon talent. When he suffers himself to be hurried off by any sudden sallies of this frequently wayward power, he invariably keeps it under the steady curb and unceasing restraint of judgment.

His affections were warm and ardent. As a brother, friend, husband, father, and minister of the word of God, he displayed strong and steady attachment. He carried his brother Anthony to Geneva, and manifested towards him and his family the greatest and steadiest love. After the death of his friend Caurault, he says, in a letter to Farel, “I am so overwhelmed that I can put no limits to my sorrow. My daily occupations have no power to retain my mind from recurring to the event, and revolving constantly the impressive thought. The distressing impulses of the day are followed

by the more torturing anguish of the night. I am not only troubled with dreams, to which I am inured by habit, but I am greatly enfeebled by those restless watchings which are extremely injurious to my health.”* Calvin thus writes to Viret on the death of his wife: “I repress, as much as I am able, the sorrow of my heart. With all the exertions of my friends, I effect less in assuaging my grief than I could wish; but I cannot express the consolations which I experience. You know the tenderness of my mind, or rather with what effeminacy I yield under trials; so that without the exercise of much moderation I could not have supported the pressure of my sorrow.” His unceasing efforts for the spiritual improvement of his church, both at Strasburgh and Geneva, leave no doubt of the warmth of his attachment. His friends also invariably manifested their strong love to Calvin, and this affords an undoubted evidence of mutual and reciprocal feelings. The tears of the magistrates and the ministers of Geneva, when he was on his death-bed, supply the clearest and most undoubted proof that he had a warm and a feeling heart.

How, it may be asked, did Calvin comfort himself under his wounded affections? He knew and felt that his light afflictions, which were but for a moment, were working out for him a far more abundant, even an eternal weight of glory. The following extracts from his letters prove that he relied on no comfort but that of his gracious Saviour.

“The Lord,” he writes to Farel, “has spared us to survive Caurault. Let us be diligent to follow his example;†

* Our Reformer thus writes on the death of Bucer, “I feel my heart to be almost torn asunder, when I reflect on the very great loss which the church has sustained on the death of Bucer, and on the advantages that England would have derived from his labours had he been spared to assist in carrying on the Reformation in that kingdom.—*Tr.*

† “They mourn the dead, who live as they desired.”—Young.

and watchful to tread in the path of increasing light, till we shall have finished our course. Let no difficulties dismay us, or any weight of earthly sufferings impede our progress towards that rest, into which we trust he is received. Without the hope of this glory to cheer us in our way, we shall be overcome with difficulties, and driven to despair. But as the truth of the Lord remains firm and unshaken, so let us abide in the hope of our calling, until the hidden kingdom of God be made manifest." After the death of his wife, he writes to Farel: "I now suppress the sorrow of my heart, and give myself no remission from my official duties.* May the Lord Jesus strengthen me in this so great calamity, which would *inevitably* have overpowered me unless he had stretched forth his hand from heaven, whose office it is to raise the fallen, to strengthen the weak, and to refresh the weary."

Viret, in his answer to Calvin on the death of his wife, thus writes:—"I admire the influence of that divine Spirit which operates in you, and proves himself by his fruits worthy of the name of the true Comforter. Justly may I acknowledge the power of that Spirit in you, since you bear with so composed a mind those domestic misfortunes, which must intimately affect, with the greatest possible severity, your heart, that was *always so readily involved in the calamities of others, and so accustomed to feel them, as if they were your own.* Your example inspires others with new strength, since you can draw consolation from your own trials, and conduct yourself in all the duties of your office, at a time when your sorrows are recent, and have the keenest edge to wound and destroy your constancy, with as much readiness and ease as when all was well.† May the ex-

* The Rev. Andrew Fuller commenced writing his excellent treatise, "Calvinism and Socinianism compared," as a means of solacing his grief for the loss of a beloved partner.—*Tr.*

† The steady performance of our various duties, domestic, social,

uberant grace of divine goodness, from which proceed all those other gifts, that the Lord hath so richly bestowed upon you, supply your own mind with the resolution to bear this cross." His feelings for the church of Geneva when he was most unjustly banished by them, show the ardour of his attachment to the church of God, which had once been intrusted to his care. In a letter to Viret, he says, "My thoughts relative to the arduous office of governing the church, disturb and perplex my mind with various anxieties; but their influence will not prevent me from doing every thing which I judge best for its welfare. Nothing is more conformable to my wishes and desires than to give up *my life in the discharge of my duty*. I entreated our friends with tears, that, omitting all consideration of me, they should consult, in the presence of God, what would be most beneficial to the church of Geneva."

Calvin thus writes on this subject in the Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms. "The obligation and responsibility of my office determined me to restore myself to the flock from which I had been violently separated; and the best of Beings is my witness with what deep sorrow, abundance of tears, and extreme anxiety, I entered upon my office."

To what was Calvin indebted for all the courage, learning, industry, and success, which he possessed? To a deep and settled piety. After leaving the darkness and superstitions of popery, he gave up his undivided attention to the sacred records of the divine will. Nor did he study them for the purpose of confirming his mind in preconceived opinions, but of discovering the counsels, the plans, the truths of infinite wisdom. His great design was to follow the Lamb of

professional, and Christian, is one of the most powerful and certain means, with the joy and consolation of the Spirit of God, to enable us to bear up under any bereavements.—*Tr.*

God whithersoever he went. Hence, by the illumination of the divine Spirit, that confidence and full assurance of faith, which he so strongly insists on and so beautifully describes. Hence that noble heroism, with which he pursued the onward tenor of his course, in breaking down the barriers of popery, and building up the exalted and stately pillars of the reformation. He knew the power of the divine word, that it was able to bring down all high thoughts in subjection to the dominion of Christ, and to overcome all principalities and powers. Hence his numerous commentaries, and his unwearied expositions, both by lectures and by preaching, of the word of God. To this, and this alone, was he indebted for the confidence with which he met all his enemies and all his trials; with which he faced all the combined artifice and violence of the Roman Catholics, and the various sects and heresies rising out of the bosom of the reformation itself.

Calvin, on his death-bed, looked back, with a self-approving conscience, to the labours in which he had been engaged; and though he condemns himself for displaying too great violence of temper on certain occasions, never once complains of self-accusation on account of the death of Servetus, or of any other part of his arduous labours in opposing Castellio, or others. Conscience has two great offices to perform, and in one capacity it acts as an *accuser* and a *judge*, in the other as a *director* and a *guide*. The improper use of this guide of our thoughts and actions has been the occasion and the cause of more suffering, and persecution, and misery, than almost all other causes put together. To this we must trace the error and the sin of the disciples John and James, when they wished to call down fire from heaven, and our beloved Saviour told them that they knew not what spirit they were of. To this we must attribute the persecution of pagan and papal Rome; and the first reformers themselves derived from this extensive source of error, of sin, and of crime, the persecuting principles by which they were

all influenced. Although Calvin had escaped from the deep abyss of popish darkness, he still continued to be enthralled and awfully deluded by the horrid principle of persecution which he placed in the hands of the civil magistrate, as the church of Rome vested it in their ruinous, ignorant, and corrupt hierarchy. Had the church of Geneva been separated from the state, Calvin would never have thought of placing in the hands of the clergy of that city the power of punishing the blasphemy of Servetus as a capital crime, since simple excommunication was the *extreme* punishment, which the consistory could inflict. Our reformer was so thoroughly convinced of the power of the magistrates extending to blasphemy against God, that he declares the apostles themselves, had the government under which they lived been Christian, would have abetted and sanctioned persecution. The true followers of the meek and lowly Jesus must be compelled to shed tears over this pernicious and altogether ruthless principle, which was adopted and maintained by all the great leaders of the reformation. Nay, the very same persecution has been continued in England until the other day, when Taylor and Carlile were liberated from prison. May no Briton ever again have cause to lament over this anti-christian conduct on the part of a government, which is professedly in league and alliance with the ecclesiastical establishment of the country. The great and peculiar glory of Christianity is love to God and love to man, founded on the principle of faith in a dying, risen, and interceding Saviour, who will finally come in the character of a Judge to separate the goats from the sheep, and to assign to each their portion in endless happiness or misery. It does not confide in the arm of man, in the power of emperors or of kings for success, but looks up with unbounded confidence to the Lord of Sabaoth for final victory and triumph.

Calvin was not influenced by any feelings of private revenge, or of personal malevolence against Servetus, as many, contrary to all the evidence of the truth of history and biogra-

phy, have asserted. He was anxious to remove all heretical opinions, and to watch over the purity of the faith of the church at Geneva, as well as of all the protestant churches. This was one cause of his bringing Servetus to trial, and his desire to convince him of the error of his opinions, and to convert him to the belief of the truth as it is in Jesus, was another. All the Swiss Protestant churches concurred with that of Geneva in sanctioning the punishment of the Spanish physician. Calvin was desirous that his punishment should have been less ignominious, and not burning, but the magistrates of Geneva opposed this measure.

It is unfair, uncandid, and ungenerous, to lay the whole weight of persecution, as many Englishmen do, upon the shoulders of Calvin.* Lambert and Askew were burnt in the reign of Henry VIII.; Vane Pare and Joan of Arc, by Edward VI., at the instigation and urgent solicitation of Archbishop Cranmer, a pattern of humility, meekness, and charity, at Smithfield, London, three years before Servetus suffered at the Champel of Geneva. Two Anabaptists were capitally punished under Elizabeth, and sixty Roman Catholics: Legate and Wightman, two Arians, under James I. Cold must be the heart that does not feel, and tearless the

* The following extract from a letter of the mild Melancthon to Calvin, proves what his opinions were concerning persecution. "I have read your clear refutation of the horrid blasphemies of Servetus, and I thank the Son of God who awarded you a crown of victory in this combat. The church owes you a debt of gratitude even at the present moment, and will owe it to the *latest posterity*. I perfectly assent to your opinion. Your magistrates did right in punishing, after a regular trial, this blasphemer." In this very letter Melancthon speaks of Calvin "as a lover of truth, and as having a mind free from hatred and other unreasonable passions." Melancthon, in a letter to Bullinger, writes, "I wonder at those who disapprove of the severity of the sentence of the Genevese senate against Servetus, for they were perfectly right, since he could never cease blaspheming."—*Tr.*

eyes that do not sympathize with all the victims of persecution under Charles I. and II.

The distinction which Servetus has attained for his various writings, particularly as the discoverer of the pulmonic circulation of the blood before our illustrious Harvey, has contributed to make his trial and punishment more conspicuous, while those who suffered in England have been little noticed in consequence of their ignorance and want of celebrity. Our reformer has been calumniated without mercy and justice, and with all the rancour of malevolence and fury, by many of our anonymous compilers of Biographical Dictionaries. Even Dr. Lempriere, in his Universal Biography, makes the most unfounded assertion, contrary to all the authentic evidence of history, that two long hours elapsed while Servetus was burning at the stake. Is such conduct worthy of the generosity for which my countrymen are so justly renowned?

What has Calvin done to merit such treatment from any of the natives of the British Isles, or of Ireland herself? We are indebted for all our psalmody in the church of England to Calvin, who fostered with paternal care the English exiles under the persecution of queen Mary; and these refugees annexed the Psalms, versified and set to music, to a translation of the Scriptures in the English language, made chiefly by Coverdale, Goodman, Knox, Gibbs, Sampson, Cole, and Whittingham. This version of the Psalms soon superseded the *Te Deum Benedicite, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis*, which had been retained until that time in the church of England from that of Rome. Had Calvin done nothing else for us than this, he deserved at least to have received fair treatment at our hands.

Not satisfied with this, Calvin used every effort in his power, by correspondence with Peter Martyr, Bucer, Fagius, Cranmer, Sir William Cecil, Sir John Cheke, the Lord Protector of England, and others, to have the liturgy of that church improved. He dedicated also his Commentary on

Isaiah, and the Canonical Epistles, to Edward the Sixth, who is justly compared with king Josiah; and he points out to him the great value and importance of the Scriptures, as the only certain means for subverting the kingdom of Antichrist. He dedicates also one edition of his Commentaries on Isaiah to Elizabeth. In his letter to the Protector, he strongly approves of a liturgy, since it would establish a more certain agreement of all the churches among themselves, check the instability and levity of innovators, and detect the introduction of new opinions by an immediate appeal to such a standard. He objects against prayers for the dead, the use of chrism, and extreme unction. "Religion," he writes, "cannot be restored to its purity while the spurious and counterfeit Christianity of popery, that sink of pollution, is only partially drawn off, and a frightful form of the religion of Jesus is embraced for the pure and original faith." In the concluding part of this letter he points out the necessity of maintaining the honour of God in punishing fornication, adultery, cursing, and drunkenness.

Does not Calvin merit the praise of every true-hearted Englishman, for recommending such reformation to the uncle of king Edward? Nay, is it not high time that something more effectual be at present done by the state, in checking drunkenness, if it takes any interest either in the religious or moral improvement of our country? In some parts of the kingdom, there is a public-house or tavern for a population of one hundred inhabitants; and, if we allow one for every three hundred, the places as receptacles for drinking will amount to seventy thousand, which is more than three times the number of all the clergymen belonging to the Established church in Great Britain and Ireland. Have we a right to consider that government as paying the least regard to the morals or religion of a country, which sanctions and licenses such a disproportionate and unnecessary number of abodes for the drunkard, or the licentious? Surely it is high time that something else be done for our native land, than the con-

tinued following up of a system, which raises so large a portion of the taxes of the country, by encouraging drunkenness, which destroys the health, the morals, the religion of the country, and is more effectual in destroying *domestic* comfort and happiness, than all other schemes of demoralization combined. How many families are there among us, which can produce some husband, brother, or son, who have fallen martyrs to this most degrading and brutalizing of all vices. When will a reformed parliament be able to say that the following line of Cowper cannot be applied to them,—

“Ye all can swallow, and they ask no more.”*

Calvin's uncommon care for all the Protestant churches in Europe, merits the highest praise. His various letters, dedications, exhortations, written to every nation of any eminence, where the true principles of the gospel had been introduced, afford a lasting proof of his ardour and zeal in promoting genuine Christianity.

His letters to John Knox, the Scotch reformer, prove his earnest zeal for the spiritual welfare of that part of the kingdom; and I am sure none, who has had the happiness, which I have experienced, of residing in that land of kindness, hospitality, education, morality, and religion, can entertain a moment's doubt of the great advantages which Scotland has derived from the reformer of Geneva. It is, however, not a little singular, that no distinguished author in that kingdom, with whose writings I am acquainted, has done any thing of importance, either in vindicating the character of Calvin from the unjust aspersions of his calumniators, or in translating any of his writings. They have been

* It is truly gratifying to learn that the duke of Wellington is doing his utmost to destroy its ravages among our soldiers. Should he, in any measure, conquer this horrid vice, he will be a greater benefactor to his country, than even by his glorious achievements at Waterloo.—*Tr.*

more desirous to impress his own character on themselves and their countrymen, than to exhibit to future ages a full and graphic delineation of every lineament and feature which distinguish this luminary of the reformation. I trust the time is not distant when one of the ablest biographers of the age—whose kindness I must ever cherish with the most grateful feelings—to whom Knox and Melville stand indebted for such a just, impartial, and correct view of all their labours, studies, and attachment to the gospel and their country—will be equally successful in doing complete justice to their great master and leader in the cause of truth and righteousness.

It yet remains for Scotland to rise as one man, and to demand from a reformed parliament the same freedom in the electing of the ambassadors of the Most High, which has been lately granted them in the appointment of their county and city members. Religion never will, and never can flourish in its full extent, until the whole united empire shall feel a deeper interest in the appointment of ministers of the gospel, than in the choice of any civil officer, however high or powerful. It may be doubted whether even a tenth part of all the archbishops, bishops, deans, priests, deacons, and ministers of the word of God, in every part of the kingdom, are elected by the people. Surely then religion cannot be made a personal consideration, while so large a part of the inhabitants appear to rest satisfied with such spiritual guides, directors, and comforters, as the caprice, or interest, or party feelings of the government, or of other patrons, shall appoint. This state of things must be altered, if we ever expect to behold a lasting and soul-stirring change in the religious character and views of the whole empire. All the Churchmen and Dissenters in the United Kingdom should use every exertion to inspire their hearers with a deep sense of the importance and actual necessity of selecting on all occasions their own spiritual instructors.

Ireland herself bears ample testimony, in the province of

Ulster, to the advantages which she has derived from the industry, manufactures, education, and religion, introduced into that country by the followers of Calvin; and we hope the time is not far distant when the wrongs of that oppressed nation will be redressed, and the glorious principles of unadulterated Christianity produce their genuine effect, and seat her side by side with her two sisters, England and Scotland.

Nor is Calvin entitled to receive common justice at the hands of Britons, merely on account of his labours for promoting our greatest blessings, by advancing the cause of religion. Hume—whose opinion was not in danger of being warped by any love to Christianity—has clearly proved, in his reign of Elizabeth, that we are chiefly indebted for our liberties to the stand which the Dissenters, who were generally Calvinists, made against the arbitrary measures of that illustrious queen. The friends of slavery are entitled to do their utmost against John Calvin; but no lover of freedom—no true Briton—no genuine Irishman—no real patriot, can or dare lay his hand on his heart, and say he has cause to withhold from our reformer his merited share of praise.

Louis the Eleventh wished his son to know merely one sentence, “that dissimulation is a necessary ingredient in the character of a monarch, without which he cannot rule.” Politicians alone know to what extent this principle has influenced their councils. All divines, however, if they wish to have the least claim for that title, ought to adopt Calvin’s device, “*promptly and sincerely.*”^{*} To these two princi-

^{*}He exhibited both these characters in the trial of Servetus. Promptness induced him to have this heresiarch arrested on a Sunday; Calvin’s calumniators and revilers have falsely stated, when Servetus was at church. Our reformer maintained with all the leading pillars of the reformation, contrary to the character, and principles, and Spirit of the Lamb of God, the Saviour of sinners, that blasphemy ought to be punished by the civil magistrate, and, as a freeman of Geneva, considered himself bound to impeach

ples guided by the light of the gospel, and the piety and boldness it inspired, we may trace all that perseverance, all that heroism and magnanimity with which he assailed the strong holds of popery, and dared to point out to the greatest

Servetus. Sincerity, and an earnestness of zeal to prevent the spread of erroneous principles, led him, therefore, to have Servetus arrested and tried by the magistrates, but Calvin never uttered a word concerning his punishment. Sufficient time was granted the Spanish physician for carrying on his trial, but, contrary to the voice of humanity and of justice, no advocate was allowed by the senate of Geneva, and his jail exhibited a mass of squalid filth, which Howard alone could have assisted to remove; for he is the only Christian, since the days of the apostles, who seems to have fully entered into the glorious practice of visiting the prisoner in his abodes of the deepest wretchedness and destitution. Servetus, on his trial condemned by the natural standing court of his own conscience, and declared guilty by its verdict, acknowledged his hypocrisy in attending mass when at Vienne, although he at that time considered the pope to be Anti-christ. The torments of the flames, with all their horrors, the entreaties and admonitions of Calvin, whose pardon Servetus begged only two hours before his death, never induced him to think he was in an error; but he died in the same sincere conviction of the truth of his opinions, as he had lived. Had all the reformers attended mass, like Servetus, the Roman hierarchy would never have been shaken; and had the first reformers understood the nature, enlarged the dimensions, and beheld the real deformities, and monstrous stings of persecution, they would never have been disgraced, or become a stumbling-block to others, by the *seeming goodness* of this principle which Christ utterly loathes. May the writer and readers of this note be enabled to understand that heavenly wisdom of divine love, which is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy; and to practise its dictates with promptness and sincerity, guided by the voice of a truly enlightened, and, in every respect, Christian conscience.—*Tr.*

potentates of Europe, the conduct which they ought to pursue.

Weak, timid, pusillanimous, and effeminate as Calvin was by nature, when guided by the Spirit of God, no danger dismayed him, no enemy arrested his progress. Our reformer manifested the greatest candour and sincerity to the meek and gentle Melancthon, when he freely admonished him of his too accommodating character, from a fear of being accused of harshness by the enemies of the gospel. In writing to Melancthon, Calvin says, "The trepidation of a general, or leader of an army, is more ignominious than the flight of common soldiers. All will condemn your wavering as insufferable. Give, therefore, a steady example of invincible constancy. The servants of Christ should pay no more regard to their reputations than their lives. I do not suppose you are eager, like ambitious men, for popular applause. I, however, ingenuously open my mind to you, lest that truly divine magnanimity* with which, otherwise, you are richly endowed, should be impeded in its operations. I would sooner die a thousand deaths with you, than see you survive the doctrine which you illustrate and deliver. Be solicitously watchful, lest impious cavillers take the opportunity of assailing the gospel from your flexible disposition," He displays the same sincerity when speaking of his own temper, which was constitutionally susceptible of quick emotions, and frankly acknowledges that he had not succeeded in his struggles to conquer his impatience and irritability. "My exertions," he says, "have not been entirely useless, although I have not been able to conquer the ferocious animal." Calvin never lost sight of the future advancement and prosperity of the church of God, which his commentaries,

*Every reader of Melancthon's Letter to Henry the Eighth must feel thoroughly convinced that his heroic feelings were entirely Christian.—*Tr.*

controversies, admonitions and other labours, were calculated to promote with the quickest promptness, and the frankest sincerity.

Calvin's opinions on all the principal subjects of evangelical truth, and the leading controversies of that period, were the same with those which were entertained by Luther, and the most distinguished leaders in the reformation. Even Melancthon writes, in a letter to Calvin, speaking of predestination: "I know that these remarks agree with your opinions; but mine, since they are less refined, are better adapted to common use." In another part of the same letter Melancthon says, "In beautifying the great and essential doctrines of the Son of God, I wish you to exercise your eloquence, since it is able to confirm your friends, to terrify your enemies, and assist such as may be saved. For whose eloquence *in reasoning* is more nervous and splendid?" Were not Bucer and Peter Martyr employed in carrying on the reformation in England? Are not their opinions the same, on all contested points, with Calvin's? Why then should the Arminians of Holland and Great Britain, labour to cast the whole blame upon Calvin? Did not Archbishop Usher, Bishop Hall, the judicious Hooker, entertain the same theological creed? (See note D.) It is surely high time that these able champions of the same opinions should bear some part of the blame, *if they deserve censure*, with our weak and emaciated reformer. Theological hatred, the most virulent and deadly of all, has been long dealt out without measure, or justice, or truth, against the Genevese reformer in England, a nation justly distinguished for generosity; but the time, it may be hoped, is not far distant, when new Horsleys will be raised up to break in pieces the arrows of calumny, and to make all the followers of the Prince of peace and truth ashamed to join the ranks of the infidels, in using the poisoned weapons of shameless detraction for the purpose of vilifying the character of one of the most holy—

the most undaunted—the most laborious, and the most disinterested followers of a crucified Redeemer.*

* Whoever is at all versed in the history of the foreign Protestant Churches, cannot be ignorant of the great abilities, piety, and learning, which ornamented great numbers of their divines, and particularly in the French Protestant Church. But what said the judicious Hooker, a man who may justly be considered as having well weighed every assertion which he made? Speaking of this very Calvin, he writes, ‘whom, for my own part, I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the French Church did enjoy since the hour it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the study of the civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or reading so much as by teaching others. For though thousands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in that kind, yet he to none but only to God, the author of that most blessed fountain, the Book of Life, and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning which were his guides.’ (Pref. to Hook. Ecclesiastical Polity.) Such an opinion, so delivered, and *by such a man*, surely deserves some attention from those who consider Calvin as a vile utterer of blasphemy and nonsense. Once more let the venerable author of the Ecclesiastical Polity bear his testimony. ‘We should be injurious to virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world; the one, his exceeding pains in composing *the Institutions of the Christian Religion*; the other, his no less industrious travails for explication of Holy Scripture *according unto the same institutions*.’ (Ibid.) Surely the venerators of Hooker must feel some portion of esteem for him whom Hooker thus venerated, and expressly calls ‘a worthy vessel of God’s glory.’

Few names stand higher, or in more deserved pre-eminence amongst the wise and pious members of the English Church, than that of Bishop Andrews; his testimony to the memory of Calvin is, that ‘he was an illustrious person, and never to be mentioned without a preface of the highest honour.’

Of the high opinion entertained of Calvin by Archbishop Cran-

Calvin's great excellence as a commentator consists in his giving, first, a concise, clear, full, and minute view of the

mer and his associates in the English Reformation, there cannot be a higher proof, than that he expressly wrote to him, intimating his desire 'that learned and godly men, who excel others in learning and judgment, might meet to handle all the heads of ecclesiastical doctrine, and agree not only as to things themselves, but also as to words and forms of speaking.' He then entreats Calvin, that he and Melancthon and Bullinger would deliberate among themselves how such a synod might be assembled. The Archbishop also expressly writes to Calvin, admonishing him, that he could not do any thing more profitable than to write often to the king. It is an additional argument of the deference paid to his opinions, that the liturgy underwent an entire alteration in compliance with the objections which Calvin made to it as it previously stood. Bishop Hooper so highly valued Calvin, that he wrote to him from prison, addressing him by the title of *Vir præstantissime*; earnestly begging the prayers of his Church, and subscribing himself *tuæ pietatis studiosissimus*. Many more proofs might be given of the high veneration with which he was treated by his cotemporaries. Whoever examines into the sermons, writings, &c. of English divines, in the reign of Elizabeth and James the First, will continually meet with the epithets of honour with which his name is mentioned: the 'learned,' the 'wise,' the 'judicious,' the 'pious' Calvin, are expressions every where to be found in the remains of those times. It is well known, that his Institutes were read and studied in the universities by every student in divinity, for a considerable portion of a century; nay, that by a convocation held at Oxford, that book was recommended to the general study of the nation. So far was the Church of England and her chief divines from countenancing that unbecoming and absurd treatment, with which the name of this eminent Protestant is now so frequently dishonoured, that it would be no difficult matter to prove, that there is not, perhaps, a parallel instance on record, of any single individual being equally and so unequivocally venerated for the union of wisdom and piety, both in England and by a large body of the foreign churches, as John

scope, drift, and connexion of the whole passage he is explaining, with the accuracy and precision of uncommon logical sagacity and acuteness. He then, in the second place, generally analyzes the sense of each word, and points out its appropriate meaning in the sentence where it occurs. He uses, without any display, his immense stores of learning, for the purpose of illustrating what is dark, enlightening what is obscure, and confirming what is doubtful. His great object is to get to the pith of the subject under his consideration, and to break the shell, that he may give his readers

Calvin. Nothing but ignorance of the ecclesiastical records of those times, or resolute prejudice, could cast a cloak of concealment over this fact; it has been evidenced by the combined testimony both of enemies and friends to his system of doctrines.

As one more additional, and no inconsiderable proof, that the name and authority of Calvin was highly esteemed by the governors of the English Church at a former period, we find, from Bishop Overall's Convocation Book, containing the Acts and Canons which were passed by the Convocation first called, A. D. 1603, 1mo. Jac. and continued by adjournments and prorogations to 1610, that the name of Calvin is formally mentioned in the preamble to the eighth canon of the second book, thus—"The Cardinal (Bellarmine) is so far driven by a *worthy man*, and some others of our side," &c. In the margin the reference is made to Calvin's Institutes. The deliberate introduction of the *name* and its *epithet* into the acts of a convocation of the Church of England, appears to be well worthy of notice in our present inquiry.* From such data, though they will leave every man to a liberty of conscience as to his approbation of Calvin's system, yet it certainly does not leave him at liberty to consign his memory to opprobrium and obloquy, without incurring the imputation of presumption, pride, or ignorance.

* Witness also the exalted testimonies given of him by Bishop Bilson, Bishop Morton, Bishop Stillingfleet, Dr. Hoyle, who wrote under the patronage of Archbishop Usher, and many others cited by Dr. John Edwards, in his *Veritas redux*.

the kernel. He approaches the only record in which Infinite Truth addresses lost mankind, with all the feelings of sacred awe, but without superstitious dread; and his sole aim is to discover, by every possible means in his power, what was the mind of the Spirit, without labouring to make the Scriptures bend to his own prejudices, or to support his preconceived opinions. His Harmonies of the Law and Writings of Moses, and of the Gospel, display the accuracy and extent of his research, which is only surpassed by the correctness of his judgment. His views of Christian morality, in his various commentaries, are distinguished by a holy simplicity, which scorns to fritter away the principles of eternal wisdom, or to accommodate the unerring maxims of the gospel to the manners, customs, or practices of the world. The great aim of Calvin, in his numerous expositions, was to dispel the clouds of popish darkness by the glorious light and splendour of the word of the Most High.

None of the reformers understood the advantages of education more clearly than Calvin; and the establishment of an excellent seminary in Geneva, both for human and divine learning, was one of the last actions of his life. Even now, when Geneva has generally deserted the standards of the original reformers, and joined those of Arius or Socinus, her sons rejoice in the great triumph achieved by the wisdom of Calvin over the power of Napoleon, who, on conquering Geneva, wanted courage to make any change in the system of education, which had been planted more than 200 years before Bonaparte was born, by this distinguished friend of genuine Christianity, and of a truly scriptural education.*

Beza has left nothing to be added to his account of Calvin's death. Our reformer's unshaken confidence in his Redeemer, care for the prosperity of the state of Geneva,

* The Life of Calvin, by the Rev. Mr. Scott, is written with much judgment and impartiality.

and the interests of religion in that city, afford a noble and unanswerable testimony to the piety and integrity of his life. May it be the constant prayer and labour of every Christian so to live that he may die the death of Calvin, and reposing with unshaken confidence in the promises of his Immanuel, triumph with unutterable joy in the prospects of that happiness which is prepared in the mansions of eternal peace and harmony, for all that love the appearing of the King of glory.

NOTES
TO THE
LIFE OF CALVIN.

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

NOTE I.

MATHURIN CORDIER, Cordery, or Corderius, was distinguished for his piety, learning, and probity. Few men, in any age, were more successful or indefatigable teachers than he was; and he invariably laboured to combine true religion and morality with the improvement of the understanding. He was born 1479, and died at Geneva, September 8, 1564. He studied divinity for some time at Paris, about 1528; and was indebted, under Providence, to Robert Stephens, for a complete emancipation from the errors and superstitions of Popery. He spent upwards of fifty years in teaching, at Paris, Nevers, Bourdeaux, Geneva, whence he was banished the same year with Calvin, at Neuchatel, Lausanne, where they wished to have placed him at the head of the college; but the inhabitants of Neuchatel, where he then taught, would not part with him. He concluded his laborious career of teaching in Geneva, and taught the sixth form till within three or four days of his death, aged eighty-five. He taught according to the monitorial system, and educated six hundred boys with more order and silence than are observed by most teachers who have only thirty or forty. The reformers displayed an indefatigable zeal for promoting education, and

never failed to make it serve as an handmaid to religion. What an awful declension has taken place in this respect among the Protestants of the nineteenth century ! Something is doing, and has already been done for the religious education of the lower classes, while the middling and the higher are frequently altogether neglected in this most important branch of instruction. We trust the time is not distant when every good classical school will pay so much attention to the Old and New Testament, even in some of the higher departments of biblical criticisms, as to compel all our colleges to assume a more distinguished stand in one of the most important branches of literature. What a disgrace that Britain should be so much surpassed by Germany in this truly useful study ! Shall we not be roused by our American descendants ?*

Calvin, in 1550, dedicated to Cordier his Commentary on the first epistle to the Thessalonians, and acknowledged himself indebted to this admirable Latin grammarian for all his future skill in that language. "I take this opportunity," he writes, "to testify to posterity, that, if they derive any benefit from my writings, they must, in a great measure, acknowledge it to have flowed from your instructions." The system of education in the High School of Edinburgh, which has been adopted with so much success nearly all over Scotland, appears very much to resemble in its general arrangement what was followed by Cordier.

His colloquies, long continued even in Britain, the first stepping-stone in the ascent to the temple of learning ; and Dr. Reynolds recommends them, as useful in assisting to enable the classical scholars to speak Latin, in which we have been so much surpassed by our continental neighbours.

* Professor Stuart's Critical Remarks on the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews are truly valuable.—*Tr.*

Dr. Hodge's Commentary on the Romans, is invaluable, as a masterly and orthodox exposition of the sacred text.—*Am. Ed.*

I look back with delight to the time when I began the study of Cordery under one of the most affectionate of tutors and friends, the Rev. Mr. Hair of Torpenhow, Cumberland, whose attainments, as a sound classical scholar, were of no ordinary character. I spent four years of very great happiness under his truly parental roof. A striking humility, and the most unassuming manners, distinguished every part of his conduct. Gentleness was his chief means for conveying knowledge, and the plan of severity never once entered his mind. He was curate of the present bishop of Bath and Wells, who afterwards promoted him to Hayton. Mr. Hair was much beloved by his parishioners, in spite of the collection of tithes, which have contributed more than any other cause to secularise our clergy, to create discord between them and their flocks, to paralyze the exertions of the farmers and the peasantry—"their country's pride"—to augment the number, add to the influence, and strengthen the power of the dissenters. From Bishop Hall, to whom I was introduced by my instructor in English, the Rev. Mr. Parsable, in consequence of the bishop being a school-fellow with Mr. Hair, and of his high opinion of Mr. Parsable, I experienced at Dublin all the attention, watchfulness, and care of a parent. I enjoyed the use of his library, and he directed my studies. Few men displayed a greater sense of principle, or a stronger hatred and abhorrence of party; and by opposing the union of Ireland with England, though a native of Great Britain, he was prevented for some time from becoming either provost or bishop. I was placed by him under Dr. Davenport, one of the kindest and best of tutors, in a college distinguished for the liberality, kindness, and generosity, that characterise the whole Irish nation; and I must ever remember, with much pleasure, the interest he took in promoting my studies. My oldest brother, my friend, my guide, and my teacher, was the cause of advising one of the best and tenderest of mothers, to whose uncommon affection I am indebted under Providence for all the blessings I now

enjoy, to place me under the Rev. Mr. Hair. My dearest mother and the Rev. Mr. Parsable alone survive of all these kind friends, relations, and instructors; and may the Saviour of sinners long continue her to me as a comfort, and fit her for the enjoyment of that kingdom, where there is neither sin, nor sorrow, nor woe.

My first tutor in English, the Rev. Mr. Parsable, acted towards me on all occasions with the greatest friendship, and I am happy to have this opportunity of testifying my deep gratitude for his instructions. His sole aim through life has been the promotion of useful knowledge, and of kindness of feeling in every situation which he has filled. May he be preserved in the enjoyment of undiminished health, to promote the happiness of his parishioners, until the Master of the harvest shall translate him from his present labours to reap the glories of an endless and all-perfect immortality.

NOTE II.

Robert d'Olivet, a relation of Calvin, was born at Noyon; and published at Neuchatel, in 1535, the first French Bible ever printed in Switzerland, and translated from the Hebrew and Greek, in consequence of the decree of the synod of the churches in the valleys of Piedmont. He was banished from Geneva, where he was tutor in a gentleman's family, in consequence of his defending the Lutherans against the attack of a Dominican friar, and withdrew to Neuchatel. He died at Ferrara, having, it is supposed, been poisoned at Rome, on account of his activity as a reformer and translator of the Scriptures, in 1536 or 1538. Calvin wrote, in French, at Neuchatel, 1536, the preface to the Old Testament, addressed to all the emperors, kings, princes, and nations, subject to the dominion of Christ. He wrote also the preface to the New. We behold, in the Life of Robert d'Olivet, of Calvin, of Cordier, and of Robert Stephens, how powerful an influence the translation of the Scriptures, printing, classical lite-

rature, and education had on each other in advancing the cause of the reformation.

NOTE III.

Few men have displayed their sense of gratitude in their dedications more than Calvin. He dedicates his Commentary on the first of Thessalonians to Cordier, because he had been his instructor in Latin; his second epistle to the Corinthians to Wolmar, as his Greek tutor; the epistle to the Romans to Grynée, as his director and adviser in the method of writing commentaries; and the second of Thessalonians to his physician Textor, who had paid the greatest attention to his wife's health, and his own, without fee or reward. None can doubt Calvin's gratitude, after stating these facts; and he displays the utmost candour in bearing testimony to their assistance.

Wolmar was a native of Switzerland. He was an excellent Greek scholar, and Calvin and Beza were indebted to him for their knowledge of this language. He taught Latin and Greek at Bourges. Tübingen enjoyed his labours in Greek and civil law for more than twenty years. He wrote commentaries on the first two books of Homer's Iliad, and an elegant preface to Chalcondyla's Greek grammar. He was an excellent teacher, and much beloved by his pupils. He died at Eisenach, 1561, aged sixty-four, of a paralytic affection; and his wife Margaret, who had been married to him twenty-seven years, died of grief the same day, and they were both buried in the same tomb. He was distinguished by his munificence to the poor, and uncommon modesty.

NOTE IV.

Calvin, April 4, 1532, published his Commentary on Seneca's Epistle on Clemency, when he was only twenty-two years and nine months old. The perverse, and amusingly

erroneous statements made by Varillas concerning this work are so numerous and altogether unfounded that we need not wonder at Bayle, when he says, they are calculated to make a person think of renouncing for ever the study of history.

NOTE V.

Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, distinguished for learning, piety, and a firm attachment to the reformation, was born 1495, and died much esteemed, at Castle Odos, December 2, 1549. She was of great use in affording protection to John le Comte, James le Fevre, to a relation of Melancthon, and many other reformers; as also in writing religious tracts, and counteracting in some measure the advice given to her brother, Francis I., king of France, by his chancellor and counsellors against the friends of the reformation. Though she did not agree with the principles of Poquet, Quintin, and Copin, leaders of the Libertines in Hainault and at Lisle, yet she was displeased with Calvin for attacking them, as she had received them into her household. Our reformer's letter, written to her on this occasion, is distinguished by a truly Christian boldness and independence, which is combined with due respect for the rank and piety of the queen. "Who would excuse me," he writes, "if, when I hear the truth of God assailed, I should remain silent? I do not believe you expect me to prevaricate in the defence of the gospel committed to my ministry for the purpose of pleasing yourself. May the Lord protect you by his shield, and direct you by his Spirit to pursue his vocation, even unto death, with a sincere zeal and prudence."

NOTE VI.

James le Fevre, of Estaples in Picardy, was of small stature and low extraction, but distinguished for genius and

learning. He received his education at Paris, and was useful in assisting to put an end to the barbarism of the schools. He took the degree of doctor in divinity. Bricconnet, bishop of Meaux, patronized him ; but he was compelled to go to Blois and Guienne to escape persecution, and finally to Nerac, where he died, 1537.

Le Fevre clearly discerned the certain approach of the reformation, though he wanted courage to join its standard. "How shall I stand," he observed to the queen of Navarre, "before the bar of God ! I who have preached the gospel of his Son to so many, who have followed my doctrine, have met a thousand torments, nay death itself, with constancy—while I, their teacher, fled—fled from persecution, and have lived to the age of 101, although death, even in its most appalling horrors, ought never to have excited even a shudder in my frame. Yet feeling and knowing this, I privately withdrew myself, and basely deserted the post assigned me by the Lord of glory." When the queen and her friends comforted the weeping patriarch by assurances of the forgiveness of his Saviour, who was prepared to bury in oblivion all his unfaithfulness ; "Nothing," he added, "remains for me but to depart to God, as soon as I have made my will ; nor ought I to delay ; for I think God has called me. I appoint you my heir ; I bequeath all my books to your chaplain ; my clothes to the poor ; and I commend the rest to God." "What," said the queen, smiling, "shall I get by being your heir?" "The office," he said, "of distribution to the poor." "Be it so," replied the queen ; "and, I declare, this inheritance is more pleasing to me than if my brother, the king of France, had nominated me to all his possessions." The countenance of the old man brightened, and he said, "Now, O queen, I require some rest ; may you be all happy ! meanwhile, farewell." He lay down on a couch, and fell into a gentle dose. One of the party, after a little time, went to awake him, but his spirit had departed.

NOTE VII.

Gerard, and Arnold Roussel, of Picardy, William Farel of Dauphiny, James le Fevre, first preached the doctrines of the reformation in France, under the patronage of the Bishop of Meaux, in 1523, where the first Protestant church was established. They ordained Peter le Clerk over a congregation in Meaux amounting to 400. He was whipped, branded, and banished by the Roman Catholics, and, after preaching at Metz, was burnt. The other four ministers were banished.

NOTE VIII.

The Princess Renee, daughter of Lewis, was distinguished for her steady and cordial attachment to the reformation. She returned from Italy to France in 1560, after the death of her husband, the Duke of Ferrara, in 1559; and she openly professed the reformed doctrines at Montagris, where she died in 1575. She afforded protection to oppressed Protestants with noble heroism and perseverance against the persecution and superstition of the church of Rome.*

NOTE IX.

Paul Fagius, in a letter to Calvin, from Cambridge, in 1550, thus writes:—"Few parishes in England have proper pastors, and most of them are sold to noblemen. Some clergymen hold three, four, or more parishes without doing ministerial duty, and substitute such as are unable to read English, and who, at heart, are mere papists. In some parishes no sermons have been preached for many years. The

* See Dr. M'Crie's excellent History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy.—*Tr.*

greater part of the fellows of colleges are violent papists, or dissolute Epicureans, who endeavour to entice the youth to their own systems. The Government refers the case of the church to the bishops, who declare they can make no alteration unless authorised by the public law of the kingdom. Any interpretations of the most luminous passages of the word of God are given, which either prudence or pride may suggest. Admonish the Duke of Somerset concerning the pillaging and betraying of the churches in this kingdom, that his majesty the king, whose proficiency in science and literature is astonishing, and who exerts all his power for restoring the truth as it is in Jesus, may hasten the reformation." Calvin was indefatigable in doing his utmost to rouse Archbishop Cranmer to appoint effective and evangelical ministers, to prevent the open sale of livings, to introduce proper discipline, and to publish a clear and luminous confession concerning the various controversies. "To speak freely," our reformer writes, "I much fear, and this fear constantly recurs to my mind, that so many autumns will be passed in delaying, that the cold of a perpetual winter will succeed." How melancholy is it to reflect that the church of England, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, still continues in a state which requires the adoption of many of the reforms alluded to by Calvin. The affairs of the church are postponed from year to year; and while great efforts are making to introduce improvements into the state, nothing, or less than nothing, is attempted for placing the cause of the religion of Jesus upon a sure and lasting basis. How few clergymen visit their parishioners from house to house for the purpose of knowing the actual state of those intrusted to their care! How few bishops visit every parish in their diocese for the purpose of making themselves personally acquainted with the character and exertions of the pastors over whom they are appointed! What heart-burnings are caused by the collection of tithes! How few parishes have the advantage of electing their own clergymen! And shall it be said that it

is of more importance to have the power of appointing a representative for parliament, than to be enabled to choose their own shepherd to lead them in the way of everlasting life? In what state is the religious education of the whole community? How many thousands, and tens of thousands, never enter the church from year to year! How many in the country are either totally indifferent about religion, or deists, or in a state of doubt and uncertainty! The division between the church and the dissenters is not diminishing; and how is it possible for a religion of love to flourish where feuds, opposition, jealousy, or rooted dislike exist? Men may talk about Christianity until the earth itself shall be burned up, but it never can—it never will prosper in any country, among any people, unless true, disinterested love unite all classes—all denominations—all parties, in the bonds of Christian affection. Love, the new commandment, which our beloved Redeemer left as a legacy to his disciples, must either abound among us, or we are as sounding brass, or tinkling cymbal.

At a period like the present, when the most gigantic strides are making to communicate useful knowledge to all classes of the community, it is the bounden duty of every child of God to leave no means untried by which the doctrines of the gospel may be extensively disseminated in all their fulness, and all their glory. The history of all states connected with the church clearly establishes one important fact—that affairs, which relate to the gospel of Christ, are never attended to, until the interests of the commonwealth have been first consulted. No great hopes, therefore, ought ever to be entertained of much good accruing to the church from the interference of the state, since the prosperity of the former will, in all human probability, always be postponed to that of the latter. Governments forget that the God of Israel is he, who giveth strength and power unto his people: blessed be God.

NOTE X.

Calvin in a letter to Farel, says of himself, "that he was not of that passionate race of lovers, who, when once captivated with an external form, eagerly embrace also the moral defects that it conceals. I expect chastity, frugality, patience, and solicitude for my personal health and prosperity, in that lady who delights me with her beauty." The Rev. Mr. Robinson of Cambridge, in his Ecclesiastical Researches, attacks Calvin for marrying an Anabaptist without ever making the slightest allusion to her own conversion, or that of her husband. This is merely one specimen of the numerous false statements concerning Calvin, with which this uncandid and unfair historian has thought fit to delude his English readers.* Calvin had one child, who died in 1545, and he could not be more than five years old. Calvin, at the close of a letter to Viret, consoles himself on this occasion in the following manner:—"The Lord has inflicted a heavy and severe wound on us by the death of our little son; but he is our Father, and knows what is expedient for his children." Mrs. Calvin ejaculated on her dying bed the following expressions:—"O glorious resurrection! God of Abraham; and of all our fathers! not one of the faithful, who have hoped in thee for so many ages, has been disappointed: I will also hope."

NOTE XI

Beza's remark, that Zebedee's confession of his error was a better decision than if a thousand decrees of the senate had issued these orders, proves how desirous even the advo-

* Yet Robinson adopts as a motto—"Let every thing said or written against truth be unsaid and unwritten."—*Tr.*

cates for persecution are to secure a triumph to their cause without having recourse to such an irrational and shocking system. Even the most inveterate disciples of the church of Rome are not now disposed to go all lengths in advocating the Inquisition, and other horrid methods of cruelty, by which Anti-christ has for so long a period kept his slaves under the most dreadful thralldom.

“Almost every page of ecclesiastical history is polluted with the blood of men sacrificed on the altars of bigotry and intolerance. That is deemed heresy, in every age and country, which is opposite to the doctrines of the established church. We have at present oppugners of the doctrines of the establishment; and though they are not burned for their belief, yet they are by some spoken of with disrespect, and tolerated with reluctance. Notwithstanding this, the present church of England we are confident, had she the power, would be as far from treading in the sanguinary footsteps of the former church of England, as the British Legislature would be now from granting her that authority of doing it, which was so superstitiously conceded to her in an age of ignorance, and ecclesiastical domination.”* The period is fast arriving when every thing like intolerance on religious subjects will be banished from our shores, and the great principles of immutable truth be supported, not by the iron arm of power, but the invincible evidence of reason, religion, and love. Party names and distinctions, whether arising from establishments or other causes, will be merged in the glorious appellation of Christian, and the doctrines of the cross be supported and extended, as they were in the first ages of the gospel, by the wisdom, industry, piety, sobriety, purity, and holiness of its professors.

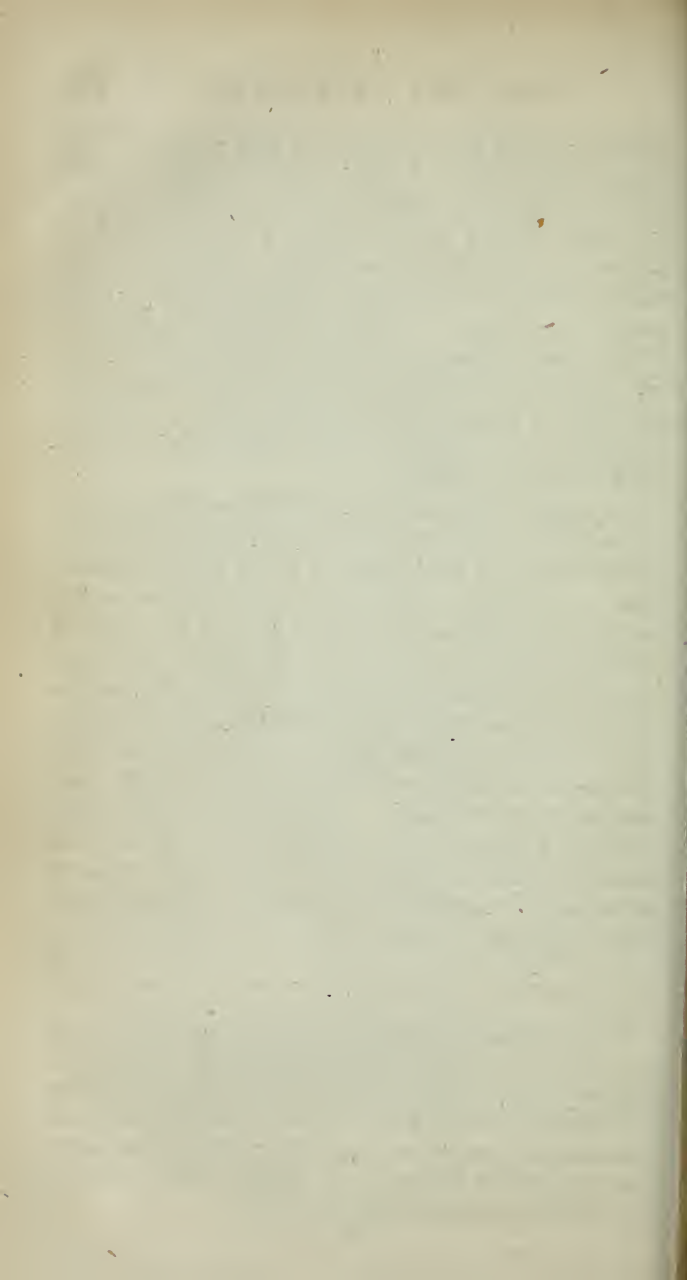
The crimes of nations and of ages will it is to be hoped, henceforth be viewed in the glass presented to us by the

* Bishop Watson.

Friend of sinners, and no attempts be made to gloss over the transgressions even of the best of men, by apologies derived from the ignorance, or superstition of the period in which they lived. Future ages, no doubt, will look back with wonder on the infidelity, immorality, drunkenness,† and Sabbath-breaking of this boasted nineteenth century, in this boasted land of liberty. It is high time for all Christians to do their utmost among us, to stem the torrent of irreligion and iniquity that is sweeping over our land, and unite in the great cause of promoting genuine Christianity by a spirit of harmony and of concord, which would paralyze all the efforts of its vilest enemies.

An interested selfishness, with which all parties look merely to themselves, is one of the worst and most lamentable symptoms of the present times, since it proves that the cause of Jesus is forgotten, and some paltry worldly objects of the most fleeting nature, preferred to the glory of the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world. The same noble disinterestedness, which made Paul support himself as a tent-maker, must resume its dominion among us, if we ever expect to hear infidels and atheists, who now blazon forth their own shame even in our courts of justice, cry out, "See how these Christians love." By showing our faith by our works, the blasphemy of unbelievers would cease, and the powers of a future and coming world resume that authority and influence, which neither scepticism nor infidelity would be able to gainsay or resist.

† The whole amount of spirit and wine-merchants, taverns, inns, beer-shops, &c., in London consisting of 1,500,000 inhabitants, is nearly 6000, while the places of worship do not much exceed 600. Can government be said to do its utmost for religion under such circumstances, when the active operations of the ministers of the gospel, compared with those of the venders of wine, spirits, ale, &c., can only be as one to ten?—*Tr.*



ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO THE

LIFE OF CALVIN.

BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

THE following notes are thrown together in a separate form, because their length rendered it impracticable to place them at the bottom of the pages on which they respectively occur.

NOTE A.

When Calvin returned from the Diet of Worms, he wrote to Farel the following account of the matter :

“ We have at length returned home, after an absence of almost three months. Our delay was occasioned by our adversaries, who constantly were devising new artifices to delude us by spinning out the time. When the Emperor was said to be approaching, we supposed that they would have a good pretext for their own justification. For during the whole period they had eluded any conference by the most impudent shufflings; and why did they not pretend that they could have no consultation, since the Emperor was now going to Ratisbon to hold the Diet?*

But when

* The Conference at Worms was appointed to be opened on the 28th of October, 1540. From this time, nothing was effected till

all were preparing to depart, they unexpectedly gave us an opportunity for a conference. They were perhaps apprehensive, that they could not escape the accusation of dishonesty, if they did not commence, at least in appearance, when we had submitted to all their obtrusive conditions. For they had spent a whole month in proposing absurdities for our admission, expecting that by our refusal, they should have an ostensible reason for accusing us with having prevented the conference. By our patience, we frustrated all their expectations, by yielding to every condition which did not materially affect injuriously the cause of truth. At length the colloquy was opened. Eckius, being chosen by our adversaries for their advocate, commenced with a speech of two hours. Melancthon answered more concisely. After dinner, Eckius again proceeded boisterously. On the following day, Philip answered him with great moderation. Eckius spoke again after dinner. The judges then pronounced, that they had disputed long enough about that article.* To the injustice of this sentence we objected, that it was intolerable that our adversaries should both open and close the debate. But Granville persisted in his sentence with the inflexible obstinacy of an Areopagite. Permission was obtained for our advocate to speak again, on condition, however, that our adversaries should close the dispute. On the following day, Philip closed his argument, and Eckius, with more moderation than usual, ended the debate. I will not attempt to describe the monkish fastidiousity, the great audacity, insolence, and impudence, with which this osten-

the 13th of January, 1541. On this day, they agreed upon a colloquy. This was after the Emperor, by Granville, his prime minister, had published his determination to hold a Diet at Ratisbon, in March.

* The dispute commenced upon *the doctrine of original sin*. Eckius and Melancthon were the only collocutors appointed. On the third day, Granville dismissed the conference.—*Dupin*.

tatious man vociferated. Imagine to yourself a barbarous sophist, exulting foolishly among his illiterate companions, and you will have the half of Eckius.——Granville having assembled the Diet, read the Emperor's letter by which it was dissolved; and the promise was given, that he would examine the unfinished business at Ratisbon."

Calvin also attended the Diet at Ratisbon, and from that place thus writes to Farel concerning the meeting:

"Many most splendid embassies have arrived from foreign nations. Cardinal Contarinus, the legate of the Pope, on his entering the town, scattered over us so many signs of the cross, that his arm, I apprehend, did not recover in two days from the painful labour. The bishop of Modena was sent as a special Nuncio. Contarinus would have us submit without bloodshed, and labours by all means to complete the business without having recourse to arms. The Nuncio is for bloodshed, and has nothing but war in his mouth. Both agree in cutting off all hopes of amicable discussion. The Venitian ambassador is a man of great pomp and parade. The English, besides the resident minister, have sent the bishop of Winchester with a splendid retinue, a man too maliciously cunning. The ambassadors of Portugal, and several others, I omit to name. The king of France has sent Velius, an importunate blockhead. In mentioning the princes, I passed over all the dregs of the order of Pfaci, excepting John Pfaf, elector of Mentz. The bishops assembled in great numbers,—the bishops of Ratisbon, Augsburg, Spire, Bremen, Saltzburg, Brescia, Worms, Bamberg, Hildesheim, and some others.——It would be in vain to conjecture what will be the result of this Diet."

"The confederates are desirous of having an audience; and if they can hope for no confidence or lasting peace, until there is an agreement in religious matters, and the Churches established in order, they will urge the imperial Chamber to consider this subject with care and attention. They are anxious that all dissensions should be ended without tumult,

and detesting war as the certain ruin of this country, they show themselves the decided enemies of all violent measures.

“ Our opponents are divided into three parties. The first are for proclaiming war, and openly raved because it was not commenced the first day. Of this class, the leaders are the elector of Mentz, the Bavarian dukes, Henry of Brunswick, and his brother the bishop of Bremen. The second class wish to consult the good of their country, whose ruin or devastation they foresee will be the calamitous effect of war, and they of course exert all their powers to effect a peace of any kind without a settlement of religion. The third would willingly admit a tolerable correction of ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline, but being either deficient in the knowledge of the truth, or in fortitude to avow themselves abettors of these opinions, they go forward apparently seeking only the public tranquillity. Among this class are the bishop of Cologne and the bishop of Augsburg among the Ecclesiastics ; both of the brothers of the Palatine, Otho, their grandson, and perhaps the duke of Cleves, among the princes. Those are the small number who are endeavouring to excite tumults, and being opposed by all the good, they cannot effect their wishes. The mind of the Emperor is entirely inclined to peace, and to obtain it he will contend with all his strength, putting off his care for the cause of religion to some future time. The confederates will not easily yield to this, but persist in demanding the reformation of the Church. We hope to effect something.

“ The Pope’s legate, with his usual solemnity, entreats us not to determine on violent measures ; but violent measures, in his view, are any discussions about religion, or any consultation concerning the reformation of the Church, held without the authority of his master. They openly profess to encourage the Diet which we ask, and still secretly oppose its appointment by great promises and high threats. Contarinus professes to wish that we might be subdued without bloodshed ; but if this cannot be done, and the Em-

peror will have recourse to arms, they are prepared to furnish him with large sums of money. While, at the same time, if he yields to any measure disagreeable to the Romish tyrant, they threaten him with those thunders with which they are accustomed to shake the whole earth. The state of things in Italy makes the Emperor anxious for his power. If he can, he will therefore take refuge there, in order, without meddling with religion, to place Germany in a more composed state, by a temporary peace, or a truce for a few years. In this he will be opposed. Thus you see that affairs are in such obscurity, that there is no place for probable conjecture. In these perplexities, let us invoke the name of the Lord, and beseech him to govern, by his wisdom, this great and weighty cause, so deeply interesting to his glory and the safety of his Church; and to manifest, in this crisis, that nothing is more precious in his sight, than that celestial wisdom which he has revealed to us in the Gospel, and those souls which he has redeemed by the sacred blood of his Son. In proportion as all things are uncertain, we must stir up our minds with the more assiduous zeal in our supplications. Casting our views over the whole progress of our affairs, we find that the Lord has governed events in a wonderful manner, without the aid or the counsels of men; and made them prosperous beyond all our most sanguine hopes. In these difficulties, let us rest entirely on that wisdom and power which he has so often displayed in our protection."

In another letter to Farel, he thus writes:

"Our advocates passed from the subject of original sin, without difficulty. The disputation on free will followed, and was amicably settled, according to the opinion of Augustine. This harmony was somewhat interrupted by the contention about the meritorious cause of justification. At length, a formula was presented; and, after passing through various corrections on both sides, it was admitted. It will doubtless surprise you, that our adversaries made conces-

sions so extensively favourable to our cause. I enclose a copy of the formula. The confederates have retained the principal doctrines of divine truth, and nothing was admitted into this formula contradictory to the Scriptures. You will, without question, desire a more full explanation, and in this respect we shall be perfectly agreed. But a moment's reflection, upon the characters of the persons with whom we have to transact this business, will convince you, that we have effected much beyond our expectations. In the definition of the Church, the advocates were agreed;* but an extensive and unyielding controversy arose about the government; and the article, by mutual consent, was omitted. On the sacraments, they had some warm contention; but when ours admitted, that the ceremonies were a medium, they proceeded to the Supper. This was an insurmountable rock. Changing the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ, replacing the host, carrying it about, and other superstitious practices, were rejected. This was considered, by the Romish advocates, as an insufferable step. Bucer, my colleague, being wholly bent on unity, was incensed that these controverted questions were moved so prematurely. Melancthon was inclined to the opinion, that all hope of pacification should be cut off, about things so entirely corrupt. Our advocates, having assembled us for consultation, demanded our individual opinions. We were unanimous, in our judgment, that transubstantiation was a mere fiction; that laying up the host was superstitious; and that the worship paid to it was idolatry, or at least very pernicious, as it was not warranted by the word of God. I was requested to give my opinion in Latin, and although I understood not the

* The advocates to manage the business in the Diet, appointed by the Emperor, were for the Catholics, Julius Pflugius, John Eckius, and John Grophar—for the confederates, Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, and John Pistorius. Dupin, 16th cent. book 2, p. 162.

opinions of the others, I freely, and without fear of giving offence, condemned the doctrine of the *local presence*, and declared that the worshipping of the host was intolerable. Believe me, in such cases, determined and resolute minds have a very great influence in establishing the opinions of others. Cease not to pray to God to support us with the spirit of fortitude. Melancthon drew up a writing, which being presented to Granville, was rejected with abusive language, which our three advocates announced to us. If, at the very commencement of the discussion, we have to encounter such difficulties, what an accumulation of them still remains to interrupt our progress, through the examination of the private mass, the sacrifice and communication of the cup? What obstacles will lie across our way when we come to the open profession of the real presence? What tumults will then be raised?"

In another letter to Farel, he thus writes :

"The messenger having delayed his departure a day longer than I expected, I write again, to mention some things which have taken place, and which may be interesting to you. Granville, although he had destroyed by his answer all hope of agreement, when he heard of the apoplexy of Eckius, whose importunity he perhaps supposed had prevented the agreement, commanded that Pistorius should also be excluded, and that the other four should proceed in their consultations without witnesses. As far as I could understand, our advocates might have easily accomplished the business, if we would have been contented to be half Christians. Philip and Bucer framed an ambiguous and deceptive confession concerning transubstantiation, endeavouring, as far as possible, to satisfy their adversaries, without yielding any thing. I am not pleased with this method of proceeding. They however have a motive which guides them. They indulge the hope that the things will manifest themselves, whenever there shall be an opening for the true doctrines. They prefer to pass over present difficulties, re-

gardless of the consequences of that flexible mode of expression. But in my opinion, this will be very injurious to the cause. I am persuaded, however, that they have the best interests of religion at heart, and are extremely anxious to advance the kingdom of Christ. Our advocates are decided and prompt to every thing ; but in their intercourse with our opponents they are too temporizing. It grieves me, that Bucer is exciting against himself the displeasure of so many persons. Being conscious of his own integrity, he expects more security from it than circumstances will warrant. We should not be so satisfied with our purity of conscience as to throw off all regard to the opinions of our brethren."

NOTE B.

Perhaps no man has ever been more slandered and calumniated by the enemies of truth, nor more respected and venerated by its friends, than John Calvin. Not only have the doctrines which he taught, been grossly misrepresented and shamefully caricatured, but his life has been charged with the grossest immoralities. To disparage or to praise the illustrious dead, is generally a matter of fashion, and second-hand retailing, with those who are the most extravagant in either. Hence there are to be found those who bestow unbounded applause upon the *Iliad* or *Æneid*, without ever having seen either ; as well as those who lavish with a most unsparing hand, upon the Geneva Reformer and his doctrines, the stereotyped calumnies of his enemies, without a knowledge of the character of either. This persecuting spirit discovered itself even while Calvin was yet alive, and in self-defence he published a tract entitled "*Calumniæ Nebulonis cujusdam adversus doctrinam Calvini de occulta Dei Providentia et ad eas ejusdem Calvini Responsio.*" While his enemies were charging him with persecuting Servetus, they seemed not to be aware that they were also persecuting him, and endeavouring to destroy what he valued far more than

life, namely his character and usefulness. It is not unfrequently the case, that those who raise the cry of persecution in order to excite public sympathy in behalf of any individual, at the same time seem not to know that they may be cruelly persecuting the very individuals on whom they labour to bring public odium. So it was with the calumniators of Calvin.

It is a striking fact that this eminent Reformer, to use the language of the Christian Observer, has borne the blame of many an erroneous opinion, both doctrinal and practical, which he spent his life in opposing; and of which no confutation could be found, in the whole circuit of theology, more masterly than his own scriptural commentaries. The Christian Observer proceeds to remark thus: "It should be observed in common justice to Calvin, that his very highest notions of absolute decrees are by his own representations, as entirely practical in their results as any opinion gathered from the decalogue; that he himself would be the last man to defend the religion of a licentious predestinarian; nay, that he would utterly deny any such character to be possessed of a particle of genuine faith; but, on the contrary, would view him as a practical atheist, whose speculations about grace were only a species of more elaborate blasphemy.

"Consistently with the fundamental principle of the Reformation, Calvin went directly to the Bible, and not by the circuitous route of councils and fathers; although he frequently refers to them with much veneration, and has indeed constructed the work before us* in the order of the Apostle's Creed, considering it to be a brief compend of Christianity, of high antiquity, though not of inspired origin. He seems to have been perfectly aware (as we have been lately and truly reminded) that the introduction of the fathers into the ranks of controversy, as decisive authorities, was as impolitic as the obsolete practice of bringing elephants into battle;

* His institutes.

such allies being, in the contingencies of an engagement, dangerous alike to both armies.*

“Liberated, however, as he was, from ecclesiastical fetters, yet well knowing the dangers resulting from independence, there was, to a serious mind, a third consideration, which if duly regarded, would certainly restore the equilibrium when disturbed by the other causes; namely, that having no accredited church to lean upon on the one hand; and, on the other, being at the disposal of an individual not to be trusted, (for every religious man is suspicious of himself,) the only resource was the volume of inspiration; and this resource was happily a safe and effectual one. To this infallible guide, therefore, he resorted; and, if he misunderstood, darkened, or perverted what he found in the Bible, he uniformly says, there is my doctrine, and here is its authority; than which nothing can be a more simple and Christian method of proceeding. It is referring the objector from the deduction to the principle; and inviting him to examine, not only the process of the reasoner’s logic, but the truth of the premises with which he sets out, and of the conclusions at which he arrives. How different is this appeal to the common standard of the Christian world, from the *fides carbonaria*† of such papists, or papal protestants, as grope in voluntary darkness amidst the noonday blaze of revelation!”

Chambers, in his Dictionary, represents one tenet of Calvinism to be that God gives to man “a necessitating grace which takes away the freedom of the will.” And yet to repel this slander was one object which Calvin had in view, in

*See particularly his Dedication.

† A Catholic collier was once asked, “What do you believe?” *What the church believes.* “And what does the church believe?” *What I believe.* “And what do you both believe?” *Why we both believe the same thing.* Hence the expression *fides carbonaria*.

writing his "Book of Scandals." It had been also charged against Calvin, that his views of the divine sovereignty made God the author of sin. "To check the growth of these errors," says Waterman in his life of Calvin, "and to vindicate the cause of Christ and the Reformation from reproach, Calvin published, June 1, 1544, his *Instructions against the errors and fanaticism of the Anabaptists and Libertines*.* In his arguments against the latter, he points out, with great clearness, the nature of the divine sovereignty, its absolute exercise over man, a fallen, depraved, but still a moral and accountable being. He exposes, with a strong hand, the absolute falsity of the libertine position, that God, as the cause of all things, *is the efficient cause of evil, or author of sin*. He rejects these assertions as blasphemous, while he maintains the scriptural doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of God. Calvin discriminated clearly the limits which bounded the human intellect on that subject, and wisely stopped short of that *duplex labyrinthus, double labyrinth*, as he calls it,† which lies beyond the light of revelation. Neither Augustine, Calvin‡ nor Edwards,§ who

* Opuscula p. 356 et 374.

† In argumento Genesis. Vol. 1, ejus operum.

‡ Passages might be multiplied, from the writings of Calvin, to show that he totally rejected the *impious dogma*—That God is the author, or the efficient cause of sin—a single passage in which he quotes Augustine, may here be appropriate—*Men are the work of God*, says Augustine, *as they are men; but they are in subjection to the devil, as they are sinners, until they are delivered from that state by Christ*. "Therefore," adds Calvin, "the good are of God; the wicked, a seipsis, from themselves." Opuscula Calvini, page 126—see also in his tracts, in p. 627—629—"Nego Deum esse mali authorem." Cal. in Acts ii. 23. "Neque tamen malorum author sit Deus." Cal. Lib. de prædestinat. et passim.

§ President Edwards says—I utterly deny God to be the author of sin; rejecting such an imputation on the Most High, as what is

thought and wrote much concerning the sovereignty of God, will probably ever be surpassed in intellect, in acquisitions or distinct apprehensions in the science of morals, or the doctrines of religion. They neither ventured themselves, nor have they given license to others, but have left many warning counsels to prevent even their attempts to intrude into the secret things which belong to God.”*

Jortin, in his second dissertation, is guilty of a similar misrepresentation of Calvinism. The learning of so distinguished a divine forbids us to ascribe to ignorance, what seems to have arisen from a less pardonable failure. He says, “they (the Calvinists) held a Synod at Dort, and established their Calvinistical decrees by cruel insolence and oppression.” And a little after, in the following anecdote, he tells us what this Calvinism was: “Two of their (Calvinistic) divines, elated with victory, insulted a poor fellow who was a Remonstrant, and said, what are you thinking on, with that grave and woeful face? I was thinking, gentlemen, said he, of a controverted question, who was the author of sin? Adam shifted it off from himself, and laid it to his wife; she laid it to the serpent; the serpent who was then young and

infinitely to be abhorred; and deny any such thing to be the consequence of what I have laid down.—Freedom of the will, Part IV. Sec. IX. II.

*It may be modestly suggested, whether some have not reproached the writings of Augustine, Calvin and Edwards, who still never read them, the sum total of whose knowledge of the works of these great men is picked up from mutilated scraps, selected for the sole purpose of prejudicing the minds of common readers against them; and whether others professedly, and doubtless in some instances, real friends to religion, have not been prompted by a desire for distinction, to make the world believe, that they could see farther and clearer on those speculative points, than Calvin; and thus plunging, with metaphysical enthusiasm, into the darkness of that *double labyrinth* which will bewilder many unwearied minds into scepticism and infidelity.

bashful, had not a word to say for himself; but afterwards growing older and more audacious, he went to the Synod of Dort, and there had the assurance to charge it upon God."

Jortin proceeds to state that in England, almost all persons of any note for learning and abilities, have bid adieu to Calvinism, have sided with the Remonstrants, and have left the fatalists to follow their own opinions,* and to rejoice (since they can rejoice) in a religious system, consisting of human creatures without liberty, doctrines without sense, faith without reason, and a God without mercy. "This system," continues Jortin, "so far as it relates to the eternal misery of infants for the fault of Adam, is the very fable of the wolf and the lamb." This fable we need not repeat, as it is familiar to all the readers of *Æsop*.

Jortin then quotes Bernard, a father and a saint of the twelfth century, as saying "Nothing burns in hell but our own wills," and remarks that he is highly to be commended for being the father of so good an aphorism, which is worth half his writings, and all his miracles. Now, in all this can be seen a continued misrepresentation of Calvinism; and just such as Calvin himself has again and again refuted, and branded as calumny.

It were well if all who undertake to refute or to ridicule Calvinism, would listen to the advice of bishop Horsley. In his primary charge to the clergy of the diocese of St. Asaph, he says, "Take especial care, before you aim your shafts at Calvinism, that you know what is Calvinism, and what is not; that in the mass of doctrine which of late it is become the fashion to abuse, under the name of Calvinism, you can distinguish with certainty between that part of it which is nothing better than Calvinism, and that which belongs to our common Christianity, and the general faith of the Reformed churches; lest, when you fall foul of Calvinism, you should unwarily attack something more sacred, and of higher ori-

* Jortin, more than once, calls Augustine a fatalist.

gin. I must say," adds that able prelate, "that I have found great want of this discrimination in some late controversial writings on the side of the church (of England), as they were meant to be, against the Methodists; the authors of which have acquired much applause and reputation, but with so little real knowledge of their subject, that give me the principles upon which these writers argue, and I will undertake to convict, I will not say Arminians only, and archbishop Laud, but upon these principles, I will undertake to convict the fathers of the Council of Trent of Calvinism. So closely is a great part of that which is now *ignorantly* called Calvinism, interwoven with the very rudiments of Christianity."

The life of Calvin was also charged with immoralities. But this was done principally by the famous Bolsec, of whom Beza gives some account. After he had been banished from Geneva, through the influence of Calvin and Farel, for sedition and Pelagianism, he wrote a life of Calvin, with a view to destroy the reputation of that great and good man.

The great Dr. Moulin observes, that not one of Calvin's innumerable enemies ever carped at the purity of his life, but this profligate physician, whom Calvin had procured to be banished from Geneva, for his wickedness and impieties. The reproach of such a man, says Middleton, was an honour to Calvin, and especially upon such an account, for as Milton truly says,

"Of some to be dispraised, is no small praise."

The calumnies of Bolsec, however, were reiterated by other enemies, and are sometimes, even in this age, raked from the filth where truth has long since consigned them.

"One of the greatest uses," says Middleton, "which may be drawn from reading, is to learn the weaknesses of the heart of man, and the ill effects of prejudices in points of religion. No less a person than the great cardinal Richelieu,

has produced an accusation against Calvin, on the credit of Bertelier, than which none was ever worse contrived, and worse proved; though it has been adopted, and conveyed from book to book. Bertelier pretended, that the republic of Geneva had sent him to Noyon, with orders to make an exact inquiry there into Calvin's life and character; and that he found Calvin had been convicted of sodomy; but that, at the bishop's request, the punishment of fire was commuted into that of being branded with the Flower-de-luce. He boasted to have an act, signed by a notary, which certified the truth of the process and condemnation. Bolsec affirms, that he had seen this act; and this is the ground of that horrid accusation. Neither Bertelier, nor Bolsec, are to be credited. If Bertelier's act had not been suppositious, there would have been at Noyon, authentic and public testimonies of the trial and punishment in question; and they would have been published as soon as the Romish religion began to suffer by Calvin's means. Bertelier had no party against him in Geneva more inexorable than Calvin, who held him in abhorrence, on account of his vices. Bertelier was accused of sedition and conspiracy against the state and church: but he ran away, and, not appearing to answer for himself, was condemned, as being attainted and convicted of those crimes, to lose his head, by a sentence pronounced against him, the sixth of August, 1555. No envoy or deputy was ever sent from Geneva on public business, who was not in a higher station than that of Bertelier; besides, there were some considerable persons at Noyon, who retired to Geneva, as well as Calvin: by whose means it was very easy to receive all the information which could have been desired, without going farther. If what Bertelier said was true, he would have had his paper when he fled from Geneva: but it is plain he had not the commission he boasted of, after that time. But can any one believe, that, before the year 1555, when those who were called heretics durst not show themselves for fear of being burnt, a deputy from Geneva should go boldly to

Noyon, to inform himself of Calvin's life? Who will believe, that if Bertelier had an authentic act of Calvin's infamy in 1554, he would have kept it so close, that the public should have no knowledge of it before 1557? Was it not a piece which the clergy of France would have bought for its weight in gold? 'But why (says Bayle), do I lose time in confuting such a ridiculous romance? Nothing surprises me more, than to see so great a person as cardinal de Richelieu, depend on this piece of Bertelier; and allege as his principal reason, that the republic of Geneva did not undertake to show the falsehood of this piece.' The truth is, this cardinal made all imaginable inquiry into the pretended proceedings against Calvin at Noyon, and that he discovered nothing; yet he maintained the affirmative on the credit of Jerom Bolsec, whose testimony is of no weight in things which are laid to Calvin's charge. Bolsec would have been altogether buried in oblivion, if he had not been taken notice of by the monks and missionaries for writing some satirical books against the Reformation. He was convicted of sedition and Pelagianism, at Geneva, in 1551, and banished the territory of the republic. He was also banished from Bern: after which he went to France, where he assisted in persecuting the protestants, and even prostituted his wife to the canons of Autun. He was an infamous man, who forsook his order, had been banished thrice, and changed his religion four times; and who, after having aspersed the dead and the living, died in despair. Varillas thought Bolsec a discredited author: Maimbourg rejected the infamy that was thrown upon Calvin: and Florimond de Remond owns, they have defamed him horribly. Papyrius Masso spoke very ill of Calvin, but would not venture to mention the story of the Flower-de-luce: and he called those, mean wretched scribblers, who reproached that minister with lewdness. It is not strange that cardinal de Richelieu, in one of the best books of controversy that has been published on the part of the church of Rome, should be less scrupulous and nice than Remond, Masso, and Romuald;

and that he should give out, as a true matter of fact, the story of Bolsec, which began then to be laid aside by the missionaries? Richelieu intended to have reconciled both religions in France, but was prevented by death; and there was not one story which people did not believe, when it defamed him or cardinal Mazarin."

Calvin's political opinions have also been questioned, and variously represented, as might suit the purposes of those who sought to bring him into disrepute.

Dr. Kenny, dean of Achonry, in his "Principles and Practices of pretended Reformers," labours to prove that Calvin was a sanguinary democrat, and the avowed champion of political principles, which are subversive of social order, and of legitimate government. What Dr. Kenny considers "a legitimate government" would be questioned by the American people, as well as by Calvin. The question of Calvin's political principles has been ably discussed by bishop Horsley. The subject was taken up by that learned prelate in the appendix to a sermon preached before the House of Lords, on the 30th of January, 1793. He was constrained to acknowledge that Calvin was unquestionably a *republican* in theory. He says that Calvin frequently declared his opinion, that the republican form, or an aristocracy reduced nearly to the level of a republic, was of all the best calculated in general to answer the ends of government. So wedded indeed was he to this notion, that he endeavoured to fashion the government of all the protestant churches upon republican principles. Calvin affirms, with his usual wisdom, that the advantages of one government over another, depend very much upon circumstances; that the circumstances of different countries, require different forms. And this is strictly true, for until a nation is prepared to appreciate the advantages of a republican form, and to use civil liberty, without abusing it, such a form can not be said to be the best for them, under such circumstances. Calvin's

political views may be fairly collected from his Commentaries on the Prophecy of Daniel.

It ought to be remarked, however, that Calvin always enjoined obedience to the powers that be; in as much as governments are ordained of God. And so taught the apostle Paul. Rom. xiii. 1—3. Titus iii. 1.

NOTE C.

THE CASE OF SERVETUS.

Robertson, in his History of Charles V. remarks that “in passing judgment on the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, and not by those of another; for, although virtue and vice are at all times the same, manners and customs vary continually.” Although we are by no means disposed to justify Calvin in the part he took in the unhappy affair of Servetus, yet there are facts connected with that transaction, which must be known, in order to form an impartial and just decision of its true character, and of the conduct of those who were the principal actors in the tragic scene. The enemies of Calvinism have united with the opposers of all evangelical religion, in selecting this event in the history of the Geneva Reformer, as the topic of vituperative harangue. While the opposers of Calvinism dwell, even to tediousness, upon this subject, as an argument against the distinctive doctrines of the Reformation; the enemies of all godliness use it as an argument against religion, and especially against the ever memorable Reformation. Some point it out as the “first fruits of the Reformation,” and others as resulting naturally from the adoption of the peculiar tenets of that Reformer. Roscoe, in his life and pontificate of Leo X., denominates it the “first fruits of the Reformation;” but persecution certainly existed before the occurrence of that melancholy event. Thirty-six years at least elapsed between the commencement of the Reformation and the death of Servetus.

The zeal of some men is warmly enlisted against persecution on account of heresy or religion, while they themselves indulge the bitterest spirit of persecution against religion itself. This spirit is as active and powerful in men of no principle, as in the most ferocious bigots. No praise is due, therefore, to those who are exempt from the charge of open persecution, only because they are destitute of all religious principle. There are persons who, though little disposed to persecute on account, or rather in favour of religion, yet are ready enough to do so when the gratification of avarice, of a revengeful spirit, or of any other passion is concerned. Indeed, the apparent complacency with which some dwell upon this disgraceful event, seems to warrant the suspicion that it is as satisfactory to them, in as much as it furnishes occasion to heap abuse and obloquy upon Calvin, as they represent it to have been to that Reformer himself. It is a compliment unwittingly paid to the Reformation and to religion, that such an event seems as necessary to the enemies of both in sustaining their opposition, as Calvin misjudged it to be to the honour of both. But as explanatory of that spirit of persecution which to some extent, is justly chargeable upon the Reformers, it should be recollected that they only participated in a common error, an error belonging rather to the age in which they lived, than to the persecutors themselves. The rights of conscience and of private opinion were not then as well understood as at this day. These rights had been lost in the darkness which for ages had gathered and thickened around the human mind, and had been formally denied by the corrupt church from which the Reformers had emerged. In the midst of the papacy they had been born, in her lap they had been nursed, and from her breasts they had imbibed the poison. But from what quarter did that light issue which has since enabled us to understand, to appreciate and to defend these rights? Not from the papal throne, for they are denied in her infallible and unalterable creed, and the exercise of them denied, even to this day, to all who are sub-

ject to its influence and control. That light sprang from the Reformation; for wherever that Reformation now obtains, these rights are understood and exercised. We appeal to facts, let them decide the question.

Let the number of individuals who suffered in protestant and popish persecutions be compared. Let the persecutions under the five years reign of queen Mary alone, be compared with all the protestant persecutions put together.

With respect to the wound which is designed to be inflicted through the sides of the reformer, upon the Reformation and upon Christianity itself, it is enough to observe that the truth and nature of pure religion, have never depended upon the character of its professors. Pure religion speaks for itself, and it needs only to be known, in order to be admired and loved.

Let us therefore, with calm, impartial, and unprejudiced minds, examine and weigh the facts connected with this case. The Biblical Repertory says, Michael Servetus was born at Villa Nueva, in Arragon, in 1509. He called himself Ville Neuve, or Villanovanus, from this place, but is said to have declared himself a native of Tudelle, in Navarre. At the age of fourteen, he is reported to have understood Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and to have been imbued with the knowledge of Philosophy, Mathematics, and Scholastic Theology. M. Simon, however, says: "it is evident by this author's books, that it cost him a great deal of trouble to write in Latin;" and Servetus himself, in the second edition of a book, says, "*Quod autem ita barbarus, confusus et incorrectus prior liber proderit, imperitiæ meæ, et typographi incuriæ adscribendum est.*" At the age of fifteen he went to Italy in the suite of Charles V., whom he saw crowned at Bologna. Just at this time the seeds of anti-trinitarian doctrine began to germinate in Italy. The Socini and their fellows were then rising. It is believed that Servetus, under these influences, adopted his peculiar tenets. The late learned Dr. McCrie expresses his belief, that the anti-

trinitarian opinions, which spread there so widely, were introduced into Italy by means of his writings.*

From Italy he went to Germany, and thence to Switzerland; and, at Basle, held a conference with Oecolampadius, with whom he disputed about the Trinity, in 1530. He then repaired to Strasburg, and conferred with Capito, and with Bucer. The latter was so far overcome with indignation at the impieties of Servetus, as to say from the pulpit, that he deserved to be put to death. Such was the error and blindness even of one who was surnamed the Moderate Reformer; an error and blindness caught from his Romish education. Before he left Basle, Servetus had prepared a book in which he attacked the orthodox faith, respecting the Trinity. This he left there in the hands of Conrad Rouss, a bookseller, who sent it to Hagenau, as it was a dangerous business to print it. The author followed his manuscript, and published it at the last named place, in 1531. He published a second, of like contents, in 1532. The former of these was entitled "*De Trinitatis Erroribus Libri Septem, per Michaellem Servetum, alias Reves, ab Arragonia Hispanum.*" Scarcely a copy is known to be extant. Mosheim says that both this and the dialogues are "*barbaro dicendi genere conscripti.*"

The second work was entitled "*Dialogorum de Trinitate Libri duo. De Justitia Regni Christi, Capitula Quatuor, per Michaellem Servetum, &c.*" In this he retracts all that he had said in the preceding; not as being false, but imperfectly, and carelessly, and ignorantly written.† These works were so largely circulated, especially in Italy, that, as late as 1539, Melancthon felt himself bound to write a caveat against them to the senate of Venice. Servetus passed his time in Germany until 1533, but then, finding himself without adherents, and

* Ref. in Italy, p. 151.

† Non quia falsa sunt, sed quia imperfecta, et tanquam a parvulo parvulis scripta. Niceron. Mem. des Hommes III. ii. 235.

awkwardly situated, from his ignorance of the language, and particularly desirous of studying mathematics and medicine, he went to France. Here he sought notoriety both as a scholar and an author. He studied medicine at Paris, under the instruction of Sylvinus and Fernel, and was graduated Master of Arts and Doctor of Physic by the university. Beza relates that, in this city, as early as in 1534, Calvin opposed his doctrines.* After taking his degrees, Servetus professed mathematics in the Lombard college. During this period, he was preparing an edition of Ptolemy's Geography, and several medical works; being, meanwhile, in warm contests with the medical faculty. We next find him at Lyons, with Frellon, a publisher, whom he served as corrector of the press. After various excursions, he settled at Charlieu, and there practised medicine. Bolsec, the noted enemy and slanderer of Calvin, and who wrote a memoir for the mere purpose of blasting his character, accounts thus for Servetus' leaving his settlement: "This Servetus was arrogant and insolent, as those have affirmed who knew him at Charlieu, where he lodged with la Riviere, about the year 1540, but was forced to leave that place on account of his extravagancies."† From Charlieu he returned to Lyons. Here he fell in with Peter Palmer, archbishop of Vienne, followed him to his see, and enjoyed a harbour in his palace. While at Vienne, he worked at a revised edition of Pagnin's Bible, which he furnished with notes, abounding in crudity and pravity of doctrine. By the intervention of the printer, Frellon, he opened a correspondence with Calvin. The manner in which Servetus conducted himself in this, may be seen in the published letters.‡ Calvin chose to break off all communication with a man who treated him with perpetual

* Beza Hist. des Ecc. Ref. T. 19.—Vit. Calv.

† Vie de Calv. p. 9, ed. 1664, apud Chauffpié.

‡ Opuscul. min. p. 517, ed. 1667.

arrogance, and, from this time, Servetus never ceased to vituperate and oppose the Reformer.

Servetus wrote a third book against the orthodox faith, and after several ineffectual attempts elsewhere, had it printed at Vienne, in 1553. This was his famous *Restitution of Christianity*. Attempts have been made to show that it was Calvin who caused information to be lodged against Servetus, with the ecclesiastical authorities. After a careful examination of the authorities, and a full citation of all the witnesses on both sides, M. Chauffpié pronounces the charge to be wholly without proof. If it were true, it could show no more, than that Calvin did what no good citizen of that generation would have denied to be a praiseworthy act. That Calvin communicated the evidence on which this process was founded, he expressly denies. And this denial must be credited, for, as he says, it is utterly against every presumption that he could correspond with Cardinal Tournon, one of the chief persecutors of the Protestants; and, accordingly, his virulent foes, Maimbourg and Bolsec, never hint such a charge.* It is agreed, however, that process was instituted, and the issue was a sentence "that there was not as yet sufficient evidence for an imprisonment." On a second examination, the Inquisition seized his person, by a finesse; and by a finesse, quite as allowable, Servetus escaped from them, June 17, 1553, and betook himself to the Lyonnois. The process went on in his absence, and, according to the usual course of popish trials, resulted in condemnation, and sentence that he should be burned alive in a slow fire. This was executed on his effigy and five bales of his books. The unfortunate author, after thus flying from Vienne, wandered in places where historians cannot trace him. If Calvin is to be credited, four months elapsed before he arrived at Geneva; where he was arrested, tried, condemned, and executed.

* Senebier. I. 205. Calv. Op. viii. 517.

There is great diversity of statement in the different accounts, as to the length of time he remained at large, and the manner of his being apprehended. According to the most unfavourable report, he was discovered at divine worship, on the Lord's day, and his presence was made known to the magistracy by Calvin himself. That this was done, if done at all, from personal enmity rather than mistaken zeal for a code of laws against heresy which all the world then approved, is only asserted, can never be proved, is by no means probable, and will be rejected by impartial history as the conjecture of prejudice. Such writers as Gibbon and Roscoe have vented much bitter recrimination on this pretended motive. We may ask, with a late eminent historian: "Is it not with justice that it has been surmised, that philosophers who, not only iniquitously resolve to try men of the sixteenth century by rules and principles scarcely admitted before the eighteenth, but greedily receive every calumny or insinuation that 'false witnesses' can utter against them, and indulge in the most extravagant invectives in setting forth their misdeeds, had they themselves happened to live three centuries back, would not have been content to smite only with the tongue or the pen, but would eagerly have grasped the sword or the torch?"*

We have conducted this brief narrative thus far, without any account of the opinions charged against this unhappy fugitive. As we approach the critical and final act of the sad drama, it becomes proper to state, calmly and from the best sources, the nature of those tenets which rendered him obnoxious to the laws. And let no one undertake to discuss this subject, who is so ignorant of history, as not to know, that in that day, and throughout Christendom, heresy, especially when joined with blasphemy, was a capital crime. In the noonday of civil and religious freedom, a child may detect the fallacy of the argument, that heresy, which slays the

* Scott's Continuation of Milner, vol. iii. 437.

soul, should have as dire a penalty as murder, which slays only the body. But the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and the Socinian, of the sixteenth century, assented to this argument.*

According to the standard of the times, Servetus was a heretic. The following sketch of his published opinions is very far below their enormity; for details are purposely omitted. The authorities may be seen at great length in the life of Servetus, by M. Chauffpié.

Such is the jumble of inconsistent crudities in the works of this writer, that it is impossible to refer his tenets to any existing title in the nomenclature of error. He was not a cool speculator, but a hasty enthusiast. At the same time he was furiously opposed to many of the doctrines always regarded as fundamental in the church of Christ. It was not the favourite dogmas of Calvin, as some ignorantly or maliciously assert, which this heretic made it his business to impugn. It was not predestination, special grace, perseverance, or any of the tenets for which the reformed churches peculiarly contended, which were assaulted in his works. His shafts were aimed at more vital parts, the very nature of God, the Trinity, the Incarnation, and similar foundations of our holy faith. He was at once a Pantheist, an Anti-trinitarian, and a Materialist.†

Not content with philosophizing about the personalty of God, he maintained that God is the Universe, and that the Universe is God. According to him, God is the infinite

* Socinus procured the death of *Francis David*, because the latter denied that Christ should be worshipped. See the whole account in Chauffpié, note BB. also Bi. Brit. vol. iv. p. 66. Murdock's *Mosheim*, Vol. iii. 269, n. (30). 275. And Servetus himself shows what was the opinion of the age, in his request of August 22d, 1553, in which he acknowledges, as we shall see, that heretics might be *banished*. Chauffp. ubi supra.

† Guerike. Handb. d. allgemeiner Kirchengeschichte. II. p. 959.

ocean of substance—the essence of all things. Not only the devil is in God, as also depraved spirits—but hell is no other thing but God himself. As God is the principle and end of all things, so they return at last to him; and in going into eternal fire, demons shall go to God himself.*

But it was the doctrine of the Holy Trinity that he set himself chiefly to impugn. In his first book he was more cautious than in those which followed; the doctrine of the earliest was nearer to Sabellianism than to any thing else. We have the authority of the ministers of Zurich, for saying that he often called the Trinity of the orthodox, “a triple monster, a three-headed Cerberus, imaginary gods, and, finally, visionary and three-headed devils;” that he reviled Athanasius and Augustin, as “*Trinitarians*, that is, *Atheists*.”† To enlarge upon his other errors and heresies, respecting the creation, the immortality of the soul, regeneration, &c., would be unnecessary. Our object is not to detail the vagaries of an enthusiast, whose works indicate a perversion of mind almost amounting to insanity. Still less is it our wish so to represent his pestiferous errors as to convey the idea that it was right to visit them with secular penalties and a cruel death. We reject the opinion, nor is it a merit in any one to do so at this time, when all reasonable Christians do the same. But we only mean to show that the tenets of Servetus were such, as might naturally lead even good men, in the twilight of religious liberty, to recognise the duty

* Some of his own expressions are: Ignis ille ab æterno paratus est ipsemet Deus qui est ignis. Si hoc bene intellexisset Origenes, non dixisset dæmones salvandos, eoquod essent ad suum principium redituri; redibunt quidem, et euntes in ignem ad ipsumet Deum ibunt. Chauffpié, note W.

† For the propositions in full, see Natalis Alexandri Hist. Ecc. ix. 163, ed. Lucca. fol. 1734. Calvin. Tract. Theol. p. 590. sqq. Also consult Epist. Philippi Melanthonis, p. 152, 708, 710, fol. Lond. 1642.

of surrendering him to the secular arm. That Calvin so thought, is not surprising, as we have the fullest evidence to make it probable that any one of the prominent men of the age, whether churchman or layman, whether Romanist or Protestant, would have held the same opinion.

Accordingly, as soon as Calvin discovered that Servetus was in the city, he used means to have him apprehended. The words of Calvin are: "He thought perhaps to pass through this city. Why he came hither is not known, but seeing that he was recognised, I thought it right that he should be detained."* It was necessary that the prosecutor should be personally held in durance while the process was pending, and Calvin used the intervention of Nicholas de la Fontaine, a student belonging to his household. Great reproach has been cast on the reformer for this step, as if it had been his intention to shun the appearance of being active in the affair. But he declares most fully the contrary: "I declare frankly, that since, according to the law and custom of the city, none can be imprisoned for any crime without an accuser, or prior information, I have made it so, that a party should be found to accuse him; not denying but the action laid against him was drawn by my advice, in order to commence the process."†

In our account of the trial we follow Chauffpié, in whose impartial statement are found abundant extracts, and references to authentic documents, of which most are beyond the reach of American students, and therefore need not be expressly cited. Servetus first appeared, August 14th, 1553. La Fontaine adduced in evidence the printed books, and a manuscript, which was owned by the author, though it had been several years lying in the hands of Calvin. On the 15th, the examination upon the same articles proceeded. On the

* Calvin to Farel, Oct. 27, 1553.

† Declaratorie, p. 11, apud Chauffpié.

17th, La Fontaine and a certain German named Calladon, who was now associated with him in the prosecution, produced letters from Oecolampadius and passages from Melancthon, showing that Servetus had been condemned in Germany. They likewise cited further passages of a heretical character. On the 21st, he appeared again; and after the course of the ordinary investigations had proceeded, he conferred or disputed with Calvin on certain questions respecting the Trinity. This conference, however it may have been misrepresented, was not contrary to the prisoner's interest: indeed it should seem that his abettors complained that there was not sufficient license allowed for frequent disputations. The judges then ordered that the books which Servetus required for his answer should be bought at his expense, and that he should retain those which Calvin had cited. On the 22d, Servetus sent a letter to the syndics and council, entering a plea to their jurisdiction—maintaining that it was unchristian to institute a capital prosecution for religious opinion—declaring that the ancient doctrine allowed merely the banishment even of such as Arius himself—and praying that he might have an advocate. The reader, while he weeps over the prejudice which could disregard pleas so reasonable, will remember that even in England, long since the reformation, prisoners have been denied counsel to plead their cause before a jury in any felony, whether it be capital, within the benefit of clergy, or a case of petty larceny.* On the 28th, new articles of accusation were brought forward, and among other offences, he was charged with the anabaptist error about the power of the magistrate. During these protracted investigations, he persisted in avowing his tenets, and his determination to avow them, unless he should be convinced. Even when charged with his indecent railings and dreadful blasphemies, he made no excuse: 'I confess,' said he, 'I

* Blackstone, vol. iv. p. 355, note 8.

have written so ; and when you shall teach me otherwise, I will not only embrace it, but will kiss the ground you walk on.' In the mean time, information had most unnecessarily and ungenerously been sent to Vienne, of the arrest of Servetus. On the last day of August, an officer from that city appeared before the council of Geneva, with a copy of their sentence, and a request that the prisoner should be remanded to them. It was left to his choice, and as was most natural, he rejected the harsh proposal, and pathetically besought that he might be judged by the magistrates of Geneva.

Hitherto, we find nothing in the conduct of Calvin inconsistent with the standard of belief and feeling at that day. It is melancholy to observe how this important circumstance is overlooked by those who, from a hasty induction of mistaken facts, attribute to personal malice the whole of his conduct. Let it never be forgotten, that the proceeding of a democratical city and a judicial council is one thing, and the ministerial and subordinate act of their pastor and teacher, another thing. And even though the latter might willingly appear in the case as prosecutor, witness, or expounder of theological opinions, we are not to charge him with every enormity of the syndics and council ; especially as it is matter of history, that the faction which was at that juncture dominant in the council of Geneva, was opposed to the Reformer.* Plainly

* Even at the time Calvin complained that he was made responsible for every thing : " *Quicquid a senatu nostro actum est, mihi passim ascribitur.*" The statement of the text will be confirmed by reference to Scott, vol. iii. p. 432, 439, 442, and Waterman's Calvin, p. 124. In the *Encyclopædia Americana*, Art. "Calvin," the compiler of a hasty and disingenuous sketch, without citing a single authority, pretends to give certain acts of the commonwealth, "to prove," forsooth, "the blind and fanatical zeal which *he* [Calvin] *had infused* into the magistracy of Geneva." As if the penal statutes against heresy had not been for ages a part of their code ! See *Chauffié*, notes S. and Z., and *la Chapelle*, *Bib. Raison.* vol. ii. p. 139, 141.

unjust is it then to repeat, for the thousandth time, that we are at liberty to consider every act of that body as emanating from Calvin. This charge of vicious and vindictive interference has been repelled by several impartial historians. "Calvin," says M. la Roche, "never came into the court but when he was commanded, and there he did nothing but by the order of his master. Upon every emergency, it seems, they had recourse to divines; to consult with them, to confer with prisoners, to direct interrogations, to make extracts, examine answers, and many other things of this kind. I believe, in the station this pastor of Geneva was in, they were afraid of transgressing, if they did any thing without him—but why represent him as an impertinent hypocrite, who intruded himself by his office in this affair; or as an implacable enemy, who earnestly solicited Servetus' death?"† And here it is but fair to let the defamed Reformer speak a word for himself. The extract is from his French works as cited by la Chapelle: "I will not deny but that he was made prisoner upon my application. But after he was convicted of his heresies, every one knows that I did not in the least insist that he should be punished with death. And as to the truth of what I say, not only all good men will bear me witness, but I defy all malicious men to say it is not so. The proceeding has shown with what intention I did it. For when I, and my brethren, I mean all the ministers of the gospel, were called, it was not owing to *us* that he had not full liberty given him, of conferring and treating of the articles wherein he has erred, in an amicable manner with us."

It was on the first day of September that the judges again availed themselves of Calvin's aid in procuring an extract of offensive propositions, in the very words of Servetus. These were thirty-eight in number. They were put into the author's hands, that he might answer, explain, or retract. He wrote a reply; and this, in its turn, was answered by

* Chauffpié, note U.

Calvin. The answer of Calvin was likewise delivered to Servetus, who made notes upon it. The reader who would pursue the subject into its lesser windings, may find all these documents among Calvin's *Opuscula*. A consultation of these will do more to show the virulence and headstrong fury of Servetus, than any second-hand statement. About a fortnight was spent in these proceedings. On the 15th, Servetus petitioned that his cause might be referred to the Council of Two Hundred; in which body, it should be observed, the sovereignty of the commonwealth resided. "It is believed," says the cautious *Chauffpié*, "that this request was suggested to him by Calvin's enemies, who contributed as much, and even more than he, to Servetus' destruction. Believing himself well supported, he observed no measures with Calvin or his judges. If he had had the least modesty or discretion, I doubt not but he might have brought himself off; but flattering himself with a triumph over Calvin, by the credit of the party which opposed this reformer, he was the victim of his pride and prejudice. This is the only way of explaining his constant conduct at Geneva; in all respects so different from his behaviour at Vienne."

The hopes of Servetus from the city faction must have been strong, as we find him, on the 22d of September, petitioning that Calvin should be punished as a calumniator. On the 10th of October, he made a new request, from which it appears that his situation in the prison was very miserable.

It is common to charge the persecution of Servetus upon Calvin alone, and the indiscriminating compilers of our biographical dictionaries, without adducing an authority, dogmatically declare that the reformer of Geneva acted out his mere personal hatred. It is glaringly false. It is not for us to say, how much false fire mingled with the zeal of Calvin; but we are well informed that not only he, but all protestant Europe, looked upon it as the common cause of truth. From what has been already said, it is plain that the case was not precipitately issued. And at the point of time which our

sketch has reached, the magistrates of Geneva determined to consult the Swiss Cantons. For this purpose they sent to them the "Restitution of Christianity," with Calvin's papers and the prisoner's answers; and requested the opinion of the Swiss theologians upon the subject. The unanimous reply was, that the magistrates of Geneva ought to restrain Servetus, and to prevent the spread of his errors.

Painful as the conclusion is, it cannot be evaded, that the judgment of John Calvin was simply the judgment of all the Helvetic Christians; too nearly allied, alas! to the popish errors from which they had half escaped, but palliated by the circumstances. M. d'Alwoerden,* the great authority of Mr. Roscoe, in his hasty and petulant censures, pretends that Calvin kept back from the press all these letters except the one from Zurich. But the letters are happily extant to give triumphant refutation to the slander; and whoever reads them will conclude with La Chapelle, that "all the churches of Switzerland agreed to punish Servetus capitally, since they all concurred in testifying their utmost abhorrence of his heresies, and requiring that this outrage should not be left unpunished."† Beza was, therefore, not falsifying, when he wrote that the issue was '*ex omnium enim Helveticarum ecclesiarum sententia.*' The prisoner himself showed a degree of confidence in these authorities, by the appeal which he is known to have made to the churches of Zurich, Schaffhausen, Berne, and Basle.

What were the replies of the Swiss magistrates to this reference from Geneva? Those of Zurich used these terms: "In confidence that you will not suffer the wicked intention

* "Historia Michelis Serveti." Helmstadt, 1727. This work was written under the superintendence of Dr. Mosheim. Every reader of Maclaine's notes has learned to be on his guard against this learned man, whenever the question lies between the Lutherans and the Reformers.

† Bibl. Raison. t. 2. p. 173.

of your said prisoner to go farther, which is entirely contrary to the Christian religion, and gives great scandal and insult.”* And the ministers still more decisively: “The holy providence of God has now offered an occasion for cleaning you from the suspicion (i. e. of fostering heresy) of this evil; that is, if you shall be vigilant, and diligently take heed that the contagion of this poison spread no farther. Which we doubt not your excellencies will effect.”† The magistrates of Schaffhausen, referred the question to their ministers, and sent the reply of the latter, which ends thus: “Nor do we doubt, but that of your remarkable wisdom, you will repress the attempts of this man, lest his blasphemies eat, as doth a canker, still more extensively, into Christ’s members. For to set aside his ravings by long argumentation—what would it be, but to rave with a madman.”‡ The magistrates of Basle, proceeding in the same way, replied by their ministers: “But if he persevere incurably in the perverseness which he has conceived, let him, in pursuance of your duty and of the authority granted you by the Lord, be so coerced, that he may no longer be able to molest the Church of Christ, and lest the last things be worse than the first.”§ The magistrates of Berne wrote: “We beg of you,

* Chauff. note Y. and, as there cited, Bi. Angl. t. 2. p. 163.

† Multa ergo fide et diligentia contra hunc opus esse judicamus, præsertim cum ecclesiæ nostræ apud exteros male audiant, quasi hæreticæ sint et hæreticis foveant. Obtulit vero in præsentī sancta Dei Providentia occasionem repurgandi vos, simul ac nos a pravi mali hujus suspicione: si videlicet vigilantes fueritis, diligenterque caveritis ne veneni hujus contagio, per hunc serpat latius. Id quod facturos A. V. nil dubitamus. Inter. Ep. Calv.

‡ Neque dubitamus quin vos pro insigni prudentia vestra ipsius conatus repressuri sitis, ne blasphemix ipsius tanquam cancer latius depascantur Christi membra. Nam longis rationibus avertere ipsius deliramenti; quid aliud esset quam cum insaniente insaniri?—ib.

§ Verum si insanabilis in concepta semet perversitate perstet,

not doubting but you are thereto also inclined, that you will take proper measures that sects and heresies as these are, or such like, be not sown in the Church of Jesus Christ, our only Saviour.”*

Such was the unanimous answer of the Swiss magistrates; and we think the fact worthy of repetition, as being very important in its bearing on the whole affair, that Servetus, after a protracted examination and defence before the senate, and after the consistory, or ministerial body, had laboured to confute and reclaim him, *appealed to the Swiss Churches*; and this, before the said consistory had given their official opinion, as to the question whether the positions, which the Senate considered as proved, amounted to heresy and blasphemy.†

On the 26th of October, sentence was pronounced, by which Servetus was condemned to be burned alive.—Bib. Rep. vol. 8, p. 87,

The sentence is as follows :—

“ The Judgment of the Syndics and Senators, pronounced upon Michael Servetus.

“ We, Syndics, Judges of criminal causes in this city, having witnessed the process made and instituted against you, on the part of our Lieutenant, in the aforesaid causes, instituted against you, Michael, of Villeneuve, in the kingdom of Aragon, in Spain, in which your voluntary confessions in our hands, made and often reiterated, and the books before us produced, plainly show, that you, Servetus, have published false and heretical doctrines; and also, despising all remon-

sic pro officio vestro potestateque a Domino concessa coerceatur, ne dare incommodum queat ecclesiæ Christi, neve fiant novissima primis deteriorari.—ib.

* Bi. Ang. in Chauff. u. supra.

† Waterman's Life of Calvin, 117.

strances and corrections, have, with a perverse inclination, sown and divulged them in a book published against God the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit; in sum against all the true foundations of the Christian religion, and have thereby tried to introduce trouble and schism into the Church of God, by which many souls may have been ruined and lost—things horrible, frightful, scandalous, and infectious; and have not been ashamed to set yourself in array against the divine Majesty and the holy Trinity; but rather have obstinately employed yourself in infecting the world with your heresies and offensive poison; a case and crime of heresy grievous and detestable, and deserving corporal punishment. For these and other just reasons moving us, and being desirous to purge the Church of God from such infection, and to cut off from it so rotten a member, having had good counsel from others, and having invoked the name of God, that we may make a right judgment; sitting upon the tribunal of our predecessors, having God and the holy Scriptures before our eyes, saying, in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, by that definite sentence which we here give by this writing—you, Michael Servetus, are condemned to be bound and led to the Champel,* and there fastened to a stake, and burned alive with the book written with your hand and printed, until your body shall be reduced to ashes, and your days thus finished as an example to others, who might commit the same things; and we command you, our Lieutenant, to put this our sentence into execution.—Read by the Chief Syndic, De Arlord.”†

* The Champel was a small eminence, about a quarter of a mile from the walls of Geneva.

† Life of Servetus, London edit. 1774.

Extracts from the refutation of the errors of Michael Servetus, drawn up by Calvin, with the assistance of the other Ministers of the Genevese Republic.

In this work the propositions in proof of the heresy and blasphemy of Servetus are stated, his answers and the reply to them, &c. &c. &c. And the question discussed, Whether it is lawful for Christian magistrates to punish heretics? The affirmative is maintained by Calvin, and subscribed by all the ministers,* as follows :

John Calvin,	Michael Cope,
Abel Pouppinus,	John Pyrery,
James Bernard,	John de St. Andrew,
Nicholas Galasius,	John Baldwin,
Francis Borgonius,	John Faber,
Nicholas Little,	John Macarius,
Raymond Calvet,	Nicholas Colladonius.
Matthew Malesian,	

The Repertory proceeds :—Calvin informs us, that Servetus, two hours before his death, sent for him, and asked his forgiveness. Calvin reminded him “with all mildness, that sixteen years before he had endeavoured, even at the risk of his own life, to reclaim him, and that it had not been through his fault that Servetus had not by repentance been restored to the friendship of all religious persons.” He also endeavoured to have the mode of execution changed to one less barbarous.† Chateillon (otherwise called Castellio and Castalio) a declared enemy of Calvin, accused him of having smiled when the heretic passed the window from which he was looking. There is no other alleged proof of this unlikely

* See Tractatus Theologici Calvini, p. 511—597.

† Ep. Cal. Farello. 71. Opusc. viii. 511.

story. M. La Roche, who elsewhere deals harshly with Calvin, treats this as a wretched calumny. Servetus was accompanied to the stake by Farel, and so far maintained his characteristic obstinacy, that he would scarcely allow Farel to ask the prayers of the people. Thus miserably perished this unfortunate and wicked man, by a cruel death, on the twenty-seventh day of October, 1553.

During the whole trial, the contumacy and recklessness of the prisoner were remarkable. Especially did he seem to make it his aim to irritate and sting his great opponent, Calvin. In the notes, already mentioned, which Servetus appended to Calvin's confutation of his arguments, he endeavours to goad the latter by every name of insult which could be foisted in. Cain, and Simon Magus, and murderer, are ordinary terms, and, in the course of a few hundred lines, we have counted instances of the lie direct, *Mentiris*, to the number of forty-six.* Yet the replies of Calvin are comparatively mild. He deals with his opponent as if he scarcely thought him balanced in mind. And when sentence was pronounced, it is notorious that he used his influence with the judge to procure a mitigation of the punishment, but without effect.—Bib. Rep. Vol. 8, pp. 76—88.

Mackenzie, in his *Life of Calvin*, says "It has been confidently pretended, and boldly asserted, that Calvin had, through life, nourished an implacable hatred against Servetus, and that the Genevese theologian had employed all his efforts to satiate it in the blood of the unhappy Spaniard; that he denounced him to the magistrates of Vienne, and occasioned

* As a specimen of his petulence, the Latin reader may take the following phrases:—*Jam pudet toties respondere bestialitati hominis—Ridiculus mus—Impudentissime—Monstrum horrendum—Tu teipsum non intelligis—Sycophanta imperitissime—Tu plusquam pessimus—Ignoras miser—Abusor inutilis et impudens Deliras—O nebulonem excœcatissimum—Sceleratus—Simon Magus—Mentiris imo ab æterno.—Tract. Theol. p. 592, sqq.*

him to be arrested on the day after his arrival at Geneva. Things advanced with an air of confidence are readily believed, and it is scarcely suspected that they may be false. Bolsec, however, the mortal enemy of Calvin, who wrote the life of that illustrious man merely to blast his memory, and who was contemporary with the facts which he relates; and Maimbourg, equally known by his partialities and his falsehoods, have never dared to advance those things which modern historians have not been ashamed to risk. Bolsec says, that Servetus quitted Lyons to establish himself at Charlieu, because his 'pride, his insolence, and the danger of his projects, made him equally feared and hated.' He adds, that Servetus returned to Lyons; that he entered into a correspondence with Calvin; that he communicated to him his ideas; that Calvin combated them with force, and that Servetus persisted in them with obstinacy; that he sent his work entitled *Restitutio Christianismi*, which he printed at that time; and that Calvin indignant, declined all acquaintance with him.*

But Calvin, it is said, abused the confidence of Servetus; he sent to Vienne the letters which he had received from him, to which he added his work entitled *Restitutio Christianismi*, of which Servetus had made him a present. This accusation is mysterious: is it to be believed that Calvin, whose name was execrated in all Catholic countries, could

* '*Restitutio Christianismi, hoc est totius ecclesiæ apostolicæ ad sua limina vocatio: in integrum restituta cognitione Dei, fidei Christianæ, justificationis nostræ, Regenerationis, Baptismi, et Cœnæ Domini manducationis; restituto denique nobis regno cœlesti, Babylonis impia captivitate soluto, et anti-christo cum suis penitus destructo.*'—This book is extremely scarce; all the copies were burned at Vienne and Frankfort: it has been long doubted whether there were any remaining; but it appears certain that Doctor Mead possessed a copy, which found its way into the library of the Duke de la Valiere.

expect from their magistrates any attentions to his complaints or any regard to his letters?

The extreme improbability of the correspondence here alluded to, may be inferred from the character of the individual to whom Calvin is said to have applied. All historians agree in representing Cardinal Tournon to us as the scourge of heresy. He caused the severest edicts to be published against the innovators. He established at Paris a fiery court (*Chambre Ardente*), which was properly an inquisition, and ordered all the tribunals of the kingdom to prosecute the new errors as crimes against the state. The fury of his zeal transported him so far, that he caused all the heretics to be burned who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. Behold the man they want to make a correspondent of Calvin by letters! Whatever wickedness they would load him with, they must suppose him a perfect blockhead to attempt such a correspondence, by a criminal accusation of his enemy, as it would appear by the loud fits of laughter they make the cardinal fall into, upon receiving this letter.

But, supposing that this reformer had been capable of such extravagant folly, how can we imagine that the cardinal 'this scourge of heresy,' would have satisfied himself with laughing at this affair? That he made himself merry with the accuser, needs not surprise us; but that he neglected to prosecute such a heretic as Servetus we cannot so easily be persuaded of. Thus Calvin himself gives no other reason in answer to the calumny we are refuting, as we shall see by his own words, than that the calumny came originally from Servetus; and that Bolsec knew nothing of the matter, but from uncertain reports. "I have no occasion," says Calvin, "to insist longer to answer such a frivolous calumny, which falls to the ground, when I shall have said, in one word, that there is nothing in it. It is four years since Servetus forged this fable upon me, and made the report travel from Venice to Padua, where they made use of it according to their fancy. I don't dispute, however, whether it was

by deliberate malice he had forged such lies to bring the hatred of many upon me, or whether fear made him suspicious : only I demand how it could happen, that since the time I discovered him, he has lived three years in the sight of his enemies, without being disquieted, or speaking one word about it to him ; certainly either those who complain of me must confess, that it has been falsely invented, or that their martyr, Servetus, has had more favour from the papists than I. If this had been objected to me with justice, and that I had published it in order to have him punished by any person whatsoever, I would not have denied it, and I don't think it could have turned to my dishonour." 'This I am confident is sufficient to satisfy reasonable men : above all, if we add to it, what Calvin had said immediately before the passage I have cited :—" A report flies about that I had endeavoured to have had Servetus apprehended in a popish country, *viz.* at Vienne ; upon which a great many say, that I have not behaved discreetly in exposing him to the mortal enemies of the² faith, as if I had thrown him in the jaws of wolves ; but I pray you, from whence so suddenly this private dealing with the pope's satellites ? It is very creditable, indeed, that we should correspond together by letters, and that those who agree with me, as well as Belial agrees with Jesus Christ, should enter into a plot with such a mortal enemy, as with their own companion."

But supposing Calvin could have been capable of such an absurdity, is it to be imagined that he could have kept silence during seven years ; that he would not have persecuted him sooner ; that he would have sent to the places where Servetus resided, the letters which he had received, and the work which he possessed ? It is evident, however, that Calvin had corresponded with Servetus seven years ; and the famous letter of Calvin, which Uttembogaert saw in the library of the king of France, shows that Calvin was then perfectly acquainted with his character, and that he had seen his famous work :—" Servetus lately wrote to me, and accompa-

nied his letter with a large volume of his extravagant opinions, with a hectoring boast, that I should see extraordinary and unheard-of things, if I were willing that he should come hither; but I was unwilling to give my promise; for if he should come, I shall use my authority in such a manner as not to suffer him to depart alive." This letter is dated in February, 1546; Calvin evidently refers to the work entitled *Restitutio Christianismi*; he plainly discovers his judgment of it, and of the punishment which he thought its author deserved; but it is equally evident that he was very far from engaging him to come to Geneva, and that he had forewarned him of what he might expect to meet with, if he should have the temerity to appear in that city. It is therefore evident, that if Calvin endeavoured to keep Servetus from Geneva to induce him to avoid the punishment with which he threatened him, he could not possibly think of inflicting it upon him elsewhere, which would have been attended with considerable difficulty, if not absolutely impossible.

But what end could Calvin's letters to the magistrates of Vienne have answered? Calvin was assured that Servetus was known to be the author of the work entitled *Restitutio Christianismi*, since it bore the name of *Villanovanus*. Servetus was well known by this name: it was, therefore, useless for Calvin to send them intelligence which was public: neither was it more necessary for him to inform them what that book contained; a single perusal evinced it. It would have been absurd in Calvin to send them a copy of the work, since it had been printed in France, under their own eyes; so that it is difficult to imagine the possibility of the conduct of Calvin in this affair being what his enemies have represented it.

Farther; the sentence pronounced at Vienne against Servetus, takes no notice of any interposition on the part of Calvin: it condemns Servetus for his printed work, on the report of the Doctors in Theology consulted on the occasion; on the ground of the errors contained in that work; and

finally, on the confessions of that unhappy man. It is true that the magistrates of Vienne, having learned that Servetus corresponded with Calvin, demanded his letters with all the writings relating to him; but the demand was made to the Council of Geneva, who complied with their request. From these circumstances it appears that Calvin had no share in sending the letters of Servetus, and that they had no influence upon the decision of Vienne, as no mention is made of them."

It is a little remarkable that Romanists in this country, frequently allude to the death of Servetus, as an indelible stain upon the character of Calvin and of the Reformation, when this unhappy man was sentenced to be burned alive by their own infallible church; and had he not escaped from prison, would certainly have been executed, on the same day that his effigy and books were consumed. Servetus fled from the jaws of Romish tyranny, and came to Geneva, although he had been forewarned by Calvin not to appear in that city. Nor could Servetus have been ignorant of the laws of that republic, enacted against heretics by the emperor Frederick II. when it was under the imperial jurisdiction, and which were still in force.

The Socinians too, are clamorous in their denunciations of Calvin and of his doctrinal tenets, on the ground of his having burnt Servetus, who advocated their principal errors. But on the testimony of one of their own creed, they are as really chargeable with the spirit of deadly persecution as Calvinists. Not that either are justly so chargeable; but if the conduct of Calvin must be made to operate to the disadvantage of Calvinists, the conduct of Faustus Socinus must affect in the same manner and degree, the character and cause of Socinians. Mr. Lindsey, in his *Apology*, p. 153—156, acknowledges, that *Faustus Socinus* himself was not free from persecution, in the case of *Francis Davides*, superintendent of the Unitarian churches in Transylvania. Davides had disputed with Socinus on the invocation of Christ, and

“died in prison, in consequence of his opinion, and some offence taken at his supposed indiscreet propagation of it from the pulpit. I wish I could say,” adds Mr. Lindsey, “that Socinus, or his friend *Blandrata*, had done all in their power to prevent his commitment, or procure his release afterwards.” The difference between Socinus and Davides was very slight. They both held Christ to be a mere man. The former, however, was for praying to him; which the latter, with much greater consistency, disapproved. Considering this, the persecution to which Socinus was necessary, was as great as that of Calvin; and there is no reason to think, but that, if Davides had differed as much from Socinus as Servetus did from Calvin, and if the civil magistrates had been for burning him, Socinus would have concurred with them. To this might be added, that the conduct of Socinus was marked with *disingenuity*; in that he considered the opinion of Davides in no very heinous point of light; but was afraid of increasing the odium under which he and his party already lay, among other Christian churches.

That divines and historians, who are members of the Church of England, should reproach Calvin about burning Servetus, even if the fact were so, is strange, when without reverting back to the burning of Lambert and Askew, in the reign of Henry VIII. to Van Pare and Joan of Kent, in that of Edward VI. (who, when he discovered some reluctance to sign the death warrant of the latter, was entreated and besought by Cranmer to do so) or of the two Anabaptists in that of Elizabeth; they may read, as late as 1612, under James I., of the burning of Legate and Wightman for the Arian heresy. And if they follow down the details of their history, during the reign of Charles I. and archbishop Laud, and read the petition of Alexander Leighton, or his sentence and punishment, they will find causes enough for the chills of grief, and tears of sympathy, from persecutions, not only for *heresy*, but for *non-conformity* to the *Common Prayer Book* of the Episcopal Church.

Mackenzie proceeds to observe, that “the principal accusations exhibited against Servetus were, first, his having asserted in his Ptolémée, that the Bible celebrated improperly the fertility of the land of Canaan, whilst it was unfruitful and barren. Secondly, his having called one God in three persons, a Cerberus, a three-headed monster. Thirdly, his having taught that God was all, and that all was God. Servetus did not deny the truth of the principal accusations, but whilst in prison called the Trinity a Cerberus, a three-headed monster; he also grossly insulted Calvin, and was so fearful that death would be the punishment of heresy at Geneva, as well as at other places, that he presented a petition on the 22d of August, in which he defended the cause of ignorance, and urged the necessity of toleration: the procureur-general replied to him in about eight days, and no doubt did it very ill. Servetus was condemned upon extracts from his books, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, and *In Ptolemæum Commentarius*; from the edition of the Bible which he had published in 1552; from his book *Restitutio Christianisimi*; and from a letter which he had written to Abel Paupin, a minister of Geneva.

“The enemies of Calvin exulted in this affair, and, for once, with the appearance of reason: but their efforts injured the cause of Servetus; they endeavoured to bring him before the Council of Two Hundred, in which, however, they did not succeed.

“The Council of Vienne claimed Servetus, who, being left at liberty to return to his ancient judges, preferred the chance of a more favourable judgment at Geneva, to the certainty of suffering the capital punishment pronounced against him at Vienne, where he had been condemned to be burned.

“To the Council of Geneva, justice ought to be done with respect to this transaction, though we may blame the principles of its jurisprudence: they neglected nothing to discover the truth; they multiplied their interrogatories; they em-

ployed all possible means to make Servetus retract; and, as they experienced the inutility of these measures, they wrote to the reformed Swiss cantons for their advice. Is it credible? they were unanimous in exhorting the council to *punish the wicked man, and to put it out of his power to increase heresy*. If Calvin may be supposed to have influenced the Council of Geneva, shall he domineer at his pleasure over four councils of four different states, and all the persons who were consulted by them in forming their judgments? Shall the fury imputed to him render so many magistrates cruel, whom he had never known? It must be confessed, that the intolerant spirit of the age dictated the sentence of Servetus at Geneva; but, it is not equally evident that Calvin was the author of that atrocity, and that he laboured with ardour to accomplish it."

Some who labour to fix upon Calvin every thing which the senate did, assert that his influence was powerful with that body, and that to his influence must be attributed the death of Servetus. But how did it happen that his influence was not sufficiently great, to induce the syndics to commute the punishment they inflicted, nor to mitigate its severity, although he laboured long and hard to effect it?

The syndics and senate of Geneva were annually elected. In 1553, Perrin was one of the syndics; and Bertelier, who is said by Beza to have excited Servetus personally to abuse Calvin, when before the senate as a witness, was clerk of the lower court, and had been about six months before the trial of Servetus excommunicated. The majority of the senate, *at this very time*, were under the influence of the Perrin and Bertelier faction, as abundantly appears from their proceedings in other matters, particularly when in August and September of this year, they voted, in the face of Calvin and the consistory, that Bertelier should be admitted to the Lord's Supper. It may be asked where, and in what respect, Calvin had any influence over the senate that condemned Servetus? It must be admitted, that the senate

who refused, at Calvin's request, to mitigate and change the punishment of Servetus, were under the control of Perrin, and not of Calvin.

Calvin, in a letter to Farel, declares, that "from the time that the senate pronounced the charges against him (Servetus) to be proved, *I never uttered a word concerning his punishment.*"

The learning and services of Servetus in the medical profession, have also been named as aggravating the cruelty of his persecutors. But those writers, who, in their zeal to honour Servetus, have attempted to credit him with a discovery relative to the circulation of the blood, ought to know that Harvey was the author of that discovery. The *learned* Wotton, in honouring Servetus with this discovery, says that the *very learned* Charles Bernard could inform him no farther, only that he had it from a *learned* friend, who copied it from Servetus. The authority is, then, that a *learned* writer says a *very learned* writer was told it by a *learned* friend!

The following extracts from Calvin's own account of the matter, will throw much light on a transaction so much misrepresented and so little understood.

EXTRACT I.

"As long as there was any hope of recalling him to a right mind, I did not, *says Calvin*, cease to afford all my assistance in private to effect it. But not to detain the reader with doubtful narrations, I will simply mention what he confessed to be true, only two hours before his death, in the presence of many witnesses. As he requested a conference with me, two senators were sent, who accompanied me to the prison. Being asked, what he desired, he answered, *that he begged my pardon.* I ingenuously observed, that I never had pursued any private injuries ;—that as much as I was able I had admonished him with mildness ;—that I had, sixteen years

ago, offered my assistance to cure him, even at the imminent danger of my life;—that it was by no means my fault, that he had not repented, and received the hand of fellowship from all the pious;—that I had without ever exposing him, patiently dealt with him by private letters;—finally, that I had omitted towards him no office of benevolence, until so much enraged by my free remonstrances, he poured forth not the spirit of passion, so much as the fury of madness. But ceasing to speak of myself, I entreated him to think rather of asking forgiveness of the eternal God, against whom he had been so atrociously insolent, by endeavouring to blot out the three persons from his essence, and calling him the three-headed Cerberus; as if an *essential* distinction was established between the Father, and his Son, and Spirit.—That he should resolutely seek to be at peace with the Son of God, whom he had deformed by his foul inventions, and by denying him to be like us in that flesh which he assumed, and breaking the bond of fraternal union, he had denied at the same time the only Redeemer. But as my entreaties and admonitions availed nothing, I would not presume to be wise above the rule of my master. For, according to the directions of Paul, I departed from the man who is an heretic, and sinneth, being *αὐτοκατάκριτος*, *condemned of himself*. —I wish the errors of Servetus were buried. But while I hear that they are spreading, I cannot be silent without incurring the guilt of perfidy. The object of this work, however, is more immediately to give the reason for the punishment of that man. For those things which were done by the senate, are by many ascribed to me. Nor do I at all dissemble, that by my influence and advice, he was by the civil power, committed to prison. For having received the freedom of this city, I was bound to impeach him if guilty of any crime. I confess that I prosecuted the cause thus far. From the time that the articles were proved against him, I never uttered a word concerning his punishment. To this fact all good men will bear me witness; and I challenge the

wicked to produce whatever they know. But how far I proceeded is not of so much consequence, as that I ought to refute in this public work, the calumny invented to asperse me by turbulent, foolish or malicious men and drunkards."

Tractatus Theologici Calvini, p. 511.

EXTRACT 2.

As Servetus was sentenced to be burnt by the papists at Vienne, the enemies of Calvin took occasion to accuse him of being the cause of his apprehension in that city. "Nothing was less becoming me, say they, than that I should expose Servetus to the professed enemies of Christ, as to huge beasts. For they affirm, that it was by my means, that he was taken at Vienne, in the province of Lyonnois. But whence this my so sudden familiarity with the inquisitors of the pope? Whence this great influence with them? Is it credible, that letters should pass freely to and from those, who are as much at variance as Christ and Belial? It is useless to spend words in refuting this calumny, which is broken to pieces and falls by a simple denial.—If indeed what they falsely object to me, was a fact, I do not see any reason why I should deny it; since I do not dissemble, that it was by my means, that he was seized in this city, and required to defend his cause. Let malevolent and slanderous men object what they please, I offer myself beforehand, and freely confess, (for according to the laws of this city the man could not be justly treated otherwise,) that the accuser proceeded at my request; that the formula was dictated by my advice; by which some entrance was made upon the cause. But what my design then was, is evident from the progress of the action. *When my colleagues and myself were summoned*, it was by no means our fault that he did not confer peaceably and freely with us concerning his dogmatisms. We in fact proceeded as in chains to give the reason of our faith, and informed him that we were prepared to answer his objec-

tions. It was then that, with swollen cheeks, he poured forth upon me such reproaches, as made the judges themselves ashamed and grieved for him.—I avoided all railing at him. *And had he been in any manner curable, he would have been in no danger of any weightier punishment.* But he was so entirely destitute of moderation, that, filled with boasting and ferocity, he petulantly rejected with scorn all wholesome and useful advice. But the execrable and absurd blasphemies which he uttered, during the conversation, may perhaps, be related elsewhere, with more propriety. This only for the present will I declare, that I was not so inveterate against him, *but that he might have redeemed his life, by mere moderation,* if he had not been destitute of reason. I know not what I shall say, unless that he was so seized with this fatal madness, that he threw himself headlong into ruin. *Eight days* after, I was again summoned; and the opportunity was again given him of a free conference with us. He formed an excuse, that he was prevented by his grief and anxiety. But whatever books he requested I freely lent him, partly from my own library, and partly from others. It is therefore a probable suspicion, that he was encouraged from some others, with a vain confidence, which destroyed him.—I trust that my moderation will be evident to all good men, unless indeed it should seem to be effeminacy. But, as if he had taken new draughts of a poisonous humour, he proceeded to insert, in all the books he could obtain of mine, his insulting reproaches, so that he left no page free from his purulent vomiting. Concerning this, at that time, I thought it best to be silent, and my intimate friends know that I was entirely unruffled by his ungenerous insults.”

Tractatus Theologici Calvinii, p. 517.

EXTRACT 3.

“By mutilating the word of God in a foul manner, he manifestly proved that all religion was equal to him, only provided that he could indulge himself after his own petulance. Moreover, we entertain such a judgment of that man, who held only one object professedly, that he took no pleasure in reviling any traditions concerning religion, unless he could, through their obscurity, erase from the memories of men all belief of the Godhead. While his arrogance called up all the most violent heresies, yet he added and mixed up with them a certain rashness of intemperate zeal. The life of Servetus was too dissolute, to lead any one to suppose, that he was driven by mere error to disturb the church. He had indeed never hesitated to subscribe to the substance of the grossest superstition; but with this great liberality, he had never given much care to present himself as a worshipper of God. When he was therefore asked in prison, by the judges, from what reason he was so zealous concerning all innovations in religion? he was speechless. Nor had he any thing to say, unless that he took the liberty to be bold in sacred things, as if to trifle with God. In his trial he evinced his impiety in the most evident manner. He declared all creatures were of the personal substance of God, and that all things were full of Gods; for in this manner he did not blush deliberately to speak and write. We were wounded with indignation and asked him, miserable man! What? If any one trampling on this pavement should say, that he trampled on your God, would you not be ashamed at so great an absurdity? He said, I do not doubt but that this bench, and whatever you see, is the substance of God. When it was objected, then the devil will be substantially God; he burst into a deriding laugh, and said, do you doubt this? This is my general principle—All things spring from the stock of God, and all nature is the substantial Spirit of God.—The

volume of Ptolomy's Geography was introduced; in the preface to which, Servetus had admonished his readers, that the scripture account of the great fruitfulness of the land of Judea, was mere boasting; as the testimony of travellers proved it to be uncultivated, barren, and destitute of every pleasant thing. He first said that this was written by another. So bold a cavil was promptly refuted, and by this means he was demonstrated to be a public imposter. Reduced to this strait, he defended it as correctly written. He was asked if he was vain enough to suppose any authority was superior to Moses. He said others had written besides Moses.—It was replied, certainly, and they all agree with Moses, who was the most ancient. How great is the crime of the man who would deceive posterity by falsehood? Who was it that said, it was a land that flowed with milk and honey? And it was added, that the land was now a testimony of the righteous judgment of God, formerly threatened against the Jews, as is described in Psalm cvii. 33, 34. The senate and many other distinguished persons witnessed, that when he was convicted of impiety against the Scriptures, he slyly rubbed his face and said, there was no evil in all this; and though convicted he made no acknowledgement. Intrusted by the printer of the Bible in Latin, at Lyons, with revising the proof-sheets, he cheated the printer out of 500 francs, adding his polluted notes, &c. He perverted most wickedly the 53d chapter of Isaiah, stating that the sufferings described—*were the mournings for Cyrus, who had died to take away the sins of the people.*—I omit that when Servetus pretended to have the suffrage of Nicholas Lyranus,* (in favour of his false glosses upon Isaiah) the book was brought; and though convicted of falsehood, he did not blush. It was a common thing with him, boldly to quote from books he had never seen. Of this he gave a specimen laughable enough in Justin Martyr. He magnificently boasted, that Martyr, in

* One of the most celebrated commentators of the 14th century.

his *Golden Age*, had not mentioned the fables of the Trinity and persons. I immediately ordered the volume to be brought, and pointed out with my finger certain places, in which that holy man had as openly asserted our faith, as if he had written at our request. But he could no more read the Greek language than a boy learning his A, B, C. Finding himself basely caught, he peevishly asked for the Latin translation to be handed him. How happens this, said I, since there is no Latin translation extant, and you cannot read Greek, that you should yet pretend yourself to have read so familiarly the works of Justin? Whence then did you obtain those testimonies which you indulge yourself in quoting so liberally? He, as he was accustomed, with a brazen front, passed quickly to another subject, without the least sign of shame.—But that wicked and hardened men may not boast of this frantic man as a martyr, on account of his obduracy, in his death there appeared such a brutal stupidity, as justifies the opinion, that he never acted at all seriously in religion. After the sentence of death was pronounced upon him, at one time he stood like a person astonished, at another he gave deep sighs, and at others he shrieked like one affrighted by apparitions; and this increased upon him till he continually cried out, in the manner of the Spaniards, mercy! mercy! When he was brought to the place of punishment, our brother and minister, Farel, with difficulty extorted from him, by earnest exhortation, his consent that the assembly should unite with him in prayer. And truly, I do not see by what principle he should consent to have those do this, concerning whom he had written with his own hand, that they were ruled by a diabolical faith; that they had no Church, no God, and that because they baptized infants, they denied Christ himself.—But Farel exhorted the people to supplicate for him, and expressly, that the Lord would have mercy on this man, and would lead him back from his execrable errors, to a right mind, that he might not perish. In the mean time, although he gave

no signs of repentance, he did not even attempt a word in the defence of his opinions. What, I ask, does this mean, that when placed under the hand of the executioner, and having *obstinately refused to invoke the eternal Son of God*, he did not, for he had the liberty, offer some defence at least? —I think it is quite evident, that as long as he thought he could sport himself with impunity, he conducted himself with far too much audaciousness; but when the punishment due to his crimes was inflicted, he fell into despair.—But more than enough has been said concerning the man, other things shall be placed in their order, in the descriptions of his dogmatisms, where the reader may determine whether the man himself, or the error, is indifferent and sufferable, or a vast and deep ocean of impieties, which weaken our whole faith, and indeed in a great measure entirely destroy its foundation. I do not propose to lay open the whole mass of confused mixtures, for I perceive this would be to plunge into thickets of briars and thorns, and wander in endless labyrinths. It will be most useful to pursue the same compendious course, which we followed in the examination of the cause itself, that the nature of the doctrines being noted under distinct heads, the readers may perceive what monstrous things, no less detestable than multiform, are contained in his books. How various and continued was the verbal dispute, and then after this, he repeated that complaint, that it was improper to conduct the trial about religion in the prison; which I answered it was true, and that I had from the beginning declared that nothing would be more grateful to me than that the points should be discussed in the house of worship, in the presence of all the people. Nor was there any reason why I should avoid the light and presence of the assembly, where the cause most worthy of approbation would be watched by candid hearers. After all this, however, HE APPEALED TO OTHER CHURCHES, *Ille provocaret ad alias ecclesias*. This condition was also freely agreed to by me. Upon this our senate, desirous to put an end to his

prevarications, decreed that the propositions which I had selected from Servetus' books should be copied and given to him. By the same decree of the senate, he was permitted to retract any thing which he should perceive that he had unjustly written; and if he found any thing unfairly perverted by me, he might refute it;—if he thought any of his opinions unjustly condemned, he might defend them from the word of God. And that there might be no needless delay, I transcribed every article to a word. He had as much time as he pleased to make out his answer to the propositions, while to us there was allowed no more than two days. And besides all this, as he expected that it would make his cause more plausible, if he made the closing defence, he again requested in writing, that this might be granted him, and he obtained this privilege also. But although he well understood, that the question to be decided was *de capite suo*, concerning his life, and that the neighbouring churches were to be consulted, on whose answer would depend the weighty *previous sentence*,* yet how he continued to cavil, the readers will see, whom I would inform, lest there should be any suspicion, that there is not a single thing put down by me, in these propositions and replies, which was not lawfully sealed and entered on the public records.”

Tractatus Theologici Calvini, p. 522, 523.

The following extracts from letters, written by several eminent reformers, show that they concurred in opinion with Calvin on the subject of punishing heretics; and that they approved of his conduct in relation to Servetus:—

BULLINGER TO CALVIN.

“In all places there are good men who are of opinion, that impious and blasphemous heretics are not only to be admo-

* Whether the accusations were proved, and if proved, whether he was guilty of blasphemy.

nished and imprisoned, but also *capite esse mulctandos, to be punished with death*. Be not therefore discouraged that you have undertaken this labour. The Lord will assist your holy endeavours and studies. I know that you have not a cruel disposition, nor do you approve of any cruelty. And who does not know that there are proper limits to be fixed to this subject? I do not see how it was possible to have spared Servetus, that most obstinate man, the very hydra of heresy.

“ZURICH, June 12, 1554.”

MELANCTHON TO CALVIN.

“Reverend and dear brother, I have read your book, in which you have clearly refuted the horrid blasphemies of Servetus; and I give thanks to the Son of God, who was the *βραβευτης, the awarder of your crown of victory*, in this your combat. To you also the church owes gratitude at the present moment, and will owe it to the latest posterity. I perfectly assent to your opinion. I affirm also that your magistrates did right in punishing, after a regular trial, this blasphemous man.

“Oct. 14, 1554.”

MELANCTHON TO BULLINGER.

“Reverend and dear brother, I have read your answer to the blasphemies of Servetus; and I approve of your piety and opinions. I judge also that the Genevese senate did perfectly right, to put an end to this obstinate man, who could never cease blaspheming. And I wonder at those who disapprove of this severity.

“August 20.”

PETER MARTYR TO CALVIN.

“I would not have you be retired in this extremity. It bitterly grieves me and all good men, that against the truth and your name, they spread such foolish and false things,

about the eternal election of God, and the punishment of heretics with death.—But it is well, in what they write they dare not mention his (Servetus') name. As often as we are asked about this, both Zanchius and I defend your side of the question and the truth, in public and private, with all our strength.

“STRASBURG, May 9.”

The following letter of Servetus, written while in prison, and addressed to the lords, syndics, and senators of Geneva, expresses his views on the subject of capitally punishing heretics and blasphemers for their opinion.

“My greatly honoured lords, I am detained under a criminal accusation, on account of John Calvin, who has falsely accused me ; saying that I had written :—

“First, *that all souls were mortal.*

“Secondly, *that Jesus Christ took from the Virgin Mary, only a fourth part of his body.*

“*These are horrible, and execrable things.* Among all other heresies, and all other crimes, there is none so great, as to make the soul mortal. In all others, there is some hope of salvation, but in this there is none. Whoever says it, does not believe, that there exists either God, or justice, or resurrection, or Jesus Christ, or holy Scripture, or any thing ; but all at death, man and beast, are both the same thing. If I had said that, not only said but written and published it, to infect the world, *I should condemn myself to death.* Therefore, my lords, I demand that my false accuser be punished *pœna talionis*, and be detained prisoner as I am, until the cause is determined by my death or his, or by some other punishment. For this I inscribe myself against him on the said *pœna talionis* ; and *am contented to die*, if he is not convicted as well of this as of other things, which I shall allege against him. I demand justice of you, my lords, justice, justice, justice.—Done in your prison at Geneva, this 22d of September, 1553.

“MICHAEL SERVETUS, in his own behalf.”

It is a fact that Erasmus did maintain in his Epistle* against some, (that is the reformers at Basil,) who falsely call themselves Evangelists, that there were certain cases in which they might *lawfully be punished capitally, as blasphemers and seditious persons*. *Quid autem vetat*, inquit, *ne Princeps hæreticos turbantes publicam tranquillitatem e medio tollat?*† No one of the Reformers ever contended for a power in the civil magistracy more extensive than this for which Erasmus pleads. The duplicity of Erasmus should not be dignified by the term of toleration. For with all his wit and learning, and he had much of both, he was of a temporizing and vafrous mind, who did in his way much of the work of a reformer, and still lived and died professedly a papist.

Beza wrote a tract *De Hæreticis a civili Magistratu puniendis*. In this work is an extensive illustration of the views and opinions of the ancient fathers and early reformers of the Christian church, relative to the right and duty of the civil magistracy to punish heretics. At pages 94 and 148, the opinion of Luther is given, and his words expressly quoted, to prove that he maintained, that heretics were to be restrained and punished by the civil magistracy. In the same work it also appears, that this was the opinion of Melancthon, of Urbanus Regius, of the Saxon church, of Brennius, of Erasmus, of Bucer, of Capito, of Bullinger, of Musculus, and of the Genevese church. To these distinguished reformers, the names of almost all others might be added, to prove that Calvin's opinion on that subject was only the opinion of all other learned and pious men of that period. It is also to be noticed, that Melancthon, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Hemmingius, Farel, Beza, Bishop Hall and others approved expressly, and in writing, of the conduct of Calvin,

* Rees' Cyclopædia, Art. Eras. and Bayle.

† Beza de Hæreticis a magistratu puniendis. Tract. Theol. p. 95.

and also of the final sentence of the senate of Geneva, in punishing capitally the man, who called the triune unity of God a three headed Cerberus, and a triple bodied monster.

For more than fifty years after the death of Calvin, no instance could be found of any respectable writer, who censured him respecting the execution of Servetus. On the publication of Calvin's Epistles by Theodore Beza, in 1575, Jerome Bolsec took offence at the account which had been given of his conduct and opinions in some of those letters. Bolsec, at that time having turned back to the papists, wrote a Life of Calvin for the sole purpose of blasting his name. But however destitute of principle, and prompted by revenge to invent the most daring falsehoods, he no where, it is asserted, accused Calvin of personal hatred towards Servetus, or cast any blame upon him for what he did in advising the prosecution against him.

Maimbourg, a Jesuit, wrote a History of Calvinism, in which, with all his popish partialities and misrepresentations, he says nothing on that subject.

Dupin, another papist, in his Ecclesiastical History, does not even name Servetus in his life of Calvin, and but barely mentions him among the Socinian heretics.

Bayle, who was of no religious denomination, in his Life of Calvin, does not even name Servetus, nor cast any reproach upon that reformer in his voluminous notes.

“The pious and excellent bishop Hall solemnly pronounced, that in that transaction, relative to Servetus, Calvin did well approve himself to God's church.”—See his *Christian Moderation*, b. 2, sect. 14, quoted in Dr. Miller's *Contin. of Lett.* p. 327. Heylin, although strongly attached to Episcopacy, and to archbishop Laud, in his history of the Presbyterians, says much, with his usual unauthorised asperity, against Calvin; yet he never reproaches him as to the matter of Servetus, whom he only names as a Socinian.

Bishop Burnet, in his history of the Reformation of the

English Church, has passed in silence the story of Servetus, and always named Calvin with respect.

Without increasing this list with the names of Francis Junius, James Arminius, Davila, Strype, and a vast number of other historians and divines of different theological sentiments, it may be asked, on what principle it was, that those writers passed with approbation, or without notice, such atrocious cruelty and personal malevolence in Calvin, as Mr. Roscoe and others within a century back, have boldly charged upon him in the affair of Servetus? Were the divines and historians at the close of the 16th, and through the 17th century, more ignorant of the facts and circumstances which attended that business, than those divines or historians who, in the 18th century, have so pointedly selected, and so invidiously impugned Calvin, as pre-eminently possessing, and furiously exercising the spirit of persecution for the sake of opinions? This it is presumed will not be asserted by any one competent to judge of that question.

The Biblical Repertory again says:—

We have, from the outset, conceded the cardinal fact, namely, that Calvin was instrumental in bringing Servetus to trial for heresy, and thus, if you please, to execution. But we shall ever maintain, that it is grossly unjust, without the shadow of proof, to charge this act to motives which are not charged in a multitude of similar instances. It was scarcely so much the fault of the man as of the age. At this time of day, a protestant can scarcely picture to himself the horrid image raised in the mind of our forefathers by the name *heretic*. A heretic was then, as M. la Chapelle well says, “a monster of horror, an emissary of hell, an enemy of God and man; this is the notion of common people among the papists to this day. Judge, then, how they would talk of a heretic, when heretics were almost as rare in Europe as the phoenix in Egypt. Did they consult the canon or the civil law, or theological standards? Heretics were excommunicated persons, poisoners of mankind, public pests, guilty of

high treason against both human and divine governments, a treason capital in the first degree." These principles were assumed as self-evident, in parliaments, and courts of princes, by popes and republics. In the Reformation a sun had arisen on the world, but the mists and fogs of a long night still mantled the horizon. The doctrine of persecution was a papal innovation which lingered after theological errors had been dispersed. It was found in the laws of the empire, and in the fathers of the church, whose authority had scarcely yet been shaken. Hence, we can pity, even more than we blame, the inconsistency of the protestants, who, escaping from persecution, became persecutors in their turn.

To every calm inquirer into the history of religious liberty, the injustice of singling out this case will appear most glaring. It is Calvin's tenets which exasperate the minds of his calumniators; else Servetus had lain in oblivion, along with Joan Bocher and George Van Parre. The great standing charge against Calvin is one which it is hard to answer, simply because it is without any proof. It is, that the Reformer was actuated by long-cherished resentment and private hate. M. Chauffpié has the candour to admit, that even if this could be proved, it would be a question whether he did not take advantage of the rigor of laws which he believed to be just. But it cannot be proved. "It is," as Mr. Scott observes, "unsupported, and even contrary to evidence, and is requisite to the solution of none of the phenomena of the case."

The case might be safely left at this point; but we will go farther, and evince by authentic records, that the instance was not singular. One might suppose from the angry zeal with which it has been blazoned as the sinister blot on the escutcheon of Calvinism, that this act of intolerance stands isolated, flaming forth with the horrors of a beacon on a hill. It is not so; all who have the smallest pretensions to historical erudition know that it is not so. There are noted examples of heretics being punished in different protestant

states. "Let persecution," we exclaim with M. Chauffpié, "be blamed, and let the execution of Servetus be condemned, we subscribe to the whole; but let us not make it peculiar in Calvin, to have been under the prejudices of his age."

More than sixty years after Calvin's death, we find the same judgment taking effect at Geneva, in the case of Nicholas Antony, who was burned for heresy, in 1632, in spite of the remonstrances of the ministers, who desired the execution to be suspended. Again, in 1652, by virtue of the same ecclesiastical code, though not on the same charge, one Chauderon was hanged for witchcraft. And we are only repeating the words of the liberal Chauffpié, Mr. Gibbon's "best" authority, when we say: "How many vexations have the Presbyterians suffered in England under the reign of James I., Charles I., and Charles II. I find, under the reign of the first, Neal, bishop of Winchester, caused to be hanged one Wightman, a dogmatizer of that time; and that King, bishop of London, condemned one Legat to be burnt for heresy; who was executed in Smithfield. And Peter Gunter, of Prussia, a farrier by trade, was beheaded at Lubeck, in the month of October, 1687, by the consent of two Universities, because he would not own the divinity of Jesus Christ."*

It is surprising that certain writers of the Episcopal denomination should have the effrontery, as they have sometimes had, to charge the death of Servetus on presbytery. This event has by some of them been attributed to the "*gentle* sway of presbytery." This is very weak argument, and very desperate policy, not to dwell on its dishonesty. The nobler minds among prelatists have seen that common justice and the good faith of history alike repudiate the base insinuation; that the common cause of protestantism is wounded by it; and that this sort of argument, even if it should avail

* Chauff. Servetus, note BB.

to tarnish presbytery, would overwhelm prelacy with contempt.* We reject it, and our cause needs it not. In the noted and prominent case of Cranmer, we scornfully reject it. The meanness of charging one good man with the sole offence, when all the age were in like condemnation, we shall condemn wherever we find it. And it is only as a specimen of impotent malice that we cite the following observation of a Mr. Le Bas, the compiler of a life of Cranmer; an observation written as if to divert attention from the case of George Van Parre, which he had just related: "Every one knows that Servetus was burned, not merely as a heretic, but as a blasphemer; that the distinction might be sufficient to satisfy a man like Calvin may not be very surprising; for what is known of his vehement temper would almost justify the suspicion, that had he lived in the age of St. Dominic, he might have sat most conscientiously in the chair of the Inquisition."† As if most studiously to cut off the wretched Calvin from all benefit of the plea he had just made for the archbishop. That plea, we acknowledge as valid and judicious. But we lament the ignoble prejudice which appended a gratuitous and false insinuation, against the man whom that very archbishop delighted to honour. Melancholy, indeed, but true it is, that Cranmer was concerned, at least as much as Calvin ever was, in bringing to the stake not *one* blaspheming heretic, but not less than *four* persons, of whom two were simple women. This is recorded by such Episcopal historians as Strype, and Burnet, and Fox.

* If we except the case of Luther, perhaps the earliest toleration that was practised after popery had introduced the reign of persecution, was settled upon the basis of doctrines decidedly Calvinistic. We mean the decree of Berne, in November, 1534.—Scott, iii. p. 245.

† Le Bas' Life of Cranmer, vol. i. p. 272. Harper's stereotype edition. See also a no less uncalled for taunt in Hallam's Const. History of England, vol. i. p. 131.

He did it in his ignorance, and we may well weep over the story ; but let no one who affects to weep, wipe away his tears to eject contumely upon a brother reformer, found in the same offence.

It was Cranmer, who “procured the death” such are the very words—of Joan Bocher and George Van Parre ; and who when the pious Edward VI. with tears hesitated to sign the death-warrants, added his own persuasions.* Even Mr. Le Bas says, with regard to Joan Bocher : “That he fully acquiesced in the proceeding, can hardly be doubted, if we are to credit the story so confidently told by his ardent admirer Fox, and not contradicted by any contemporary writer ; namely, that all the importunity of the council could not prevail on Edward to set his hand to the warrant—that Cranmer, upon this, was desired to persuade him—that, even then, the merciful nature of that princely boy held out long against the application—and that, when at last he yielded, he declared before God, that the guilt should rest on the head of his advisers.”†

That the case is different in many of our popular historical works, and in the articles of biographical dictionaries, patched up from these by mere compilers, will surprise no one who recollects that, in our day, history has too often fallen into the hands of sceptics. Roscoe makes it his especial care to vilify the reformers ; we may safely leave his allegations to the triumphant answer of Mr. Waterman.‡ Gibbon, as we need scarcely say, found it to suit the purpose of his life to degrade the memory of a leading Christian. But, be it noted, that the authority chiefly relied on in the preceding details, and from whose truly cautious statements we have not seen occasion to vary in a single instance, is *Chauffpié*, the continuator of *Bayle’s Dictionary* ; whose

* Burnet’s Hist. Ref. vol. ii. 112. Gilpin’s Lives of Reformers, ii. 99.

† Le Bas’ Cranmer, vol. i. p. 270. ‡ Life of Calvin, p. 122.

narrative Gibbon pronounces "*the best account*" he had seen of the transaction.

Other writers, affected by no predilections in favour of presbytery, have had the patience to study, and the honesty to adjudicate, this perplexing case, with different results. Among these we name the late SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE; an independent thinker, a laborious reader of authorities, and a professed enemy of Calvinism. His opinion is as follows:

"What ground is there for throwing the odium of Servetus' death upon Calvin alone?—Why, the mild Melancthon wrote to Calvin* expressly to testify his concurrence in the act, and, no doubt, he spoke the sense of the German reformers; the Swiss churches *advised* the punishment in formal letters, and I think there are letters from the English divines, approving Calvin's conduct! Before a man deals out the slang of the day, about the great leaders of the Reformation, he should learn to throw himself back to the age of the Reformation, when the two parties in the church were eagerly on the watch to fasten the charge of heresy on the other. Besides, if ever a poor fanatic thrust himself into the fire, it was Michael Servetus. He was a rabid enthusiast, and did every thing he could in the way of insult and ribaldry to provoke the feeling of the Christian church. He called the Trinity *triceps monstrum et Cerberum quendam tripartitum*, and so on."†

This is sensible and just; and what might be expected from a philosopher and a scholar. For such a one, no declamation without proof, will be sufficient. But the careless, the prejudiced, and the wicked, and especially those who hate the doctrine of special grace, and Calvin as its triumphant modern defender, will still avoid a laborious investiga-

* Here is given the sentence cited above.

† Table Talk, p. 143. See also a fair discussion of the case in Sir David Brewster's Encyclopædia, Art. "Calvin."

tion, and repeat in wilful ignorance the refuted slanders of their predecessors. This rooted enmity to the theological system called Calvinism, is the true source of the unjust invective against the Reformer's conduct in this affair. If not, why are the similar and even worse offences of other great men, altogether omitted, or, if not omitted, mentioned with every phrase of extenuation? It is Calvinism, it is the doctrine of Paul and of Augustin which has caused this peculiar exacerbation of zeal. And, after all, many seem to be ignorant of the history of this hateful scheme of opinions. It is acknowledged by Mr. John Scott, himself an Episcopalian, in the work already named, that Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingli, (at an earlier period of their lives, at least) held the doctrines of election and predestination, which have subsequently been denominated Calvinistic. "Nor did those high doctrines," says he, "originate with these persons. They held them in common with eminent writers who had preceded them, and were members of the Roman Catholic church; and they would, I apprehend, have been able to support some of their boldest positions by the authority of St. Augustine himself. Why, then, is all the odium of these obnoxious doctrines to be accumulated upon the devoted head of Calvin, who had never been heard in public life, even at the latest period referred to?"*

It is our confident expectation, that in proportion to the increase of biblical study, and the culture of mental philosophy among good men, there will be a return to these very doctrines; and that the works of Calvin (as we already see in Germany) will rise again in the estimation of the church; and that his character will be pondered, as one of the noblest models of the theologian, the expositor, and the reformer. When this day shall come, the calumnies of his foes will find their due level. And though no man will ever vindicate

his opinion or his practice, in this instance, any more than the exploded whimses of the astrologer or the alchymist, pious Christians will accord to him the praise of bishop Andrews, that "he was an illustrious person, and never to be mentioned without a preface of the highest honour." Meanwhile, let the enemies of the reformer's memory ponder the testimony of Arminius himself. In a letter, only two days before his death, he says: "After the holy Scriptures, I exhort the students to read the Commentaries of Calvin: for I tell them he is incomparable in the interpretation of Scripture; and that his Commentaries ought to be held in greater estimation than all that is delivered to us in the writings of the ancient Christian fathers: so that, in a certain eminent spirit of prophecy, I give the pre-eminence to him beyond most others, indeed, beyond them all."*

In closing this article, we are happy to be able to say that two elaborate memoirs of Calvin may soon be expected. One is understood to be preparing by Mr. Henry, pastor of a church in Berlin; and great pains have been taken to gain information from unpublished manuscripts and other documents existing at Geneva. The other biography is that which was left by the late lamented Dr. M'Crie, and which will be made ready for the press by one of his sons. From the biographer of Knox and Melvill, every thing which the case admits may be expected.—Bib. Rep. vol. 8, pp. 89, 96.

NOTE D.

One of the most interesting circumstances attending the Reformation, was the striking uniformity of doctrinal sentiment among the reformers. This uniformity is evident from an inspection of their respective Confessions of Faith, and of

* Christian Observer for 1827, p. 622.—"Declaration of Arminius." Ibid. 1807, p. 179. Scott's Milner, iii. 496.

the writings of their most distinguished divines. Their general uniformity of opinion on the subject of church government and ecclesiastical discipline, was scarcely less remarkable. Uniformity on the latter point, however, was not entire. In England, from motives of policy, a form of government was introduced, more nearly allied to that from which they had separated, than that adopted by the rest of the reformers. But even in England, the Episcopal mode was not maintained on such grounds as would unchurch those who differed from them in theory and practice on the subject of church government. This abundantly appears from the fact, that the leaders of the reformation in England, fraternized with the reformers on the continent, owned them as a church, applied to them for counsel and assistance, and asked their co-operation in furthering the common cause in which they were engaged. These marks of approbation and brotherly affection, were received by none more frequently than by John Calvin; as may be gathered from the interesting and full correspondence between him and Cranmer, the duke of Somerset, and the rest of the English reformers.

It is worthy of notice, that during the time of archbishop Laud, a sudden, though not unaccountable change took place in the minds of many of the clergy, as to the meaning of several of their doctrinal articles. Prior to the time of Laud, they were almost uniformly received in a Calvinistic sense. During that period, also, the name and writings of Calvin had great weight in the English church; but since the time of Laud, an anti-Calvinistic sense has not only been put upon those articles, but contended for by many as the only admissible sense in which they can be honestly adopted. With this change, as we might naturally expect, their respect and veneration for the name and opinions of Calvin, have given place to strong disapprobation, if not contempt. This feeling has led many writers in the Episcopal church, to say many hard things of Calvin, and to endeavour to cast obloquy upon the name and memory of the man to whom their own church

is indebted for much of its purity, and protestant character. To say the least, it is gross ingratitude, thus to treat the memory of so great a benefactor. But while some of the writers alluded to, are actuated by hatred, and influenced by rancorous feelings, engendered and embittered by the spirit of controversy, it is doubtless true, that others of them are utterly ignorant of the doctrinal sentiments of those luminaries of the English church, whom, from education, they are accustomed to venerate, and of the high estimation in which they held Calvin and his writings. It may, therefore, be a service to such, if they are willing "to come to the light," and allow justice to the memory of Calvin, to glance at the history of theological opinion, as it existed among the English reformers and their successors, down to the time of Laud. But the limits of a note will not permit us to extend the inquiry so far as we could wish; we shall, therefore, confine our remarks to the period immediately succeeding the Reformation.

Although many who subscribe the articles of the English church cannot adopt the doctrinal sentiments of Calvin, it is nevertheless true, that Calvin approved of those articles as doctrinally correct. This point has been fully established by the Editors of the London Christian Observer. See their volumes for the years 1803, 1804, 1820. As to the censure which Calvin passed upon the liturgy of the English church, "*In Anglicanâ Liturgiâ multas video tolerabiles ineptias*," it should be observed that the design and extent of this censure appear to have been misunderstood by several writers, who have supposed the doctrines expressed or implied in the liturgy to be its object, whereas nothing can be more evident than the contrary. It belongs exclusively to the rites and ceremonies of the English Church. This might be collected from the words themselves. It was not the disposition of that reformer to *tolerate* doctrinal errors, or to treat them as *trifling* or *frivolous* things; but in matters of form he was less rigid. "In things of an indifferent nature," he says, "I

am easy and flexible, yet I do not always think it expedient to comply with the morose temper of those men, who will give up nothing to which they have been accustomed. In the English liturgy, such as you describe it, I see that there were many tolerable fooleries: *multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias.*" The letter from which this passage is extracted, is addressed to certain English protestants at Frankfort, who had been driven from their country by the bigotry of queen Mary. In this letter Calvin censures them for suffering dissensions about *forms and ceremonies* to prevent their union in one body. His expostulation seems to have produced a good effect, for in a second letter, dated about five months later, he congratulates them upon their reconciliation. The points about which they had differed, he again mentions as useless and frivolous ceremonies, *frivolis et inutilibus ceremoniis*, and particularly specifies the use of tapers, crosses, and other superstitions of that kind.

The ceremonies prescribed in the first liturgy of Edward VI. viz: the mixing of water with the wine in the eucharist, the crossing in the consecration of the elements, the exorcism practised at baptism, the anointing and threefold immersion of the infant, and extreme unction administered to the sick, must have appeared to Calvin frivolous, and deserving of the name of fooleries.

It cannot now be determined, with certainty, which of the liturgies of Edward was intended, the only description being *liturgia qualem describitis*, the liturgy as you describe it; and the ceremonies of tapers and crosses seeming rather to refer to the first than the second liturgy. However, as the date of the letter is posterior by about four years to the second liturgy, that may possibly have been the object of Calvin's censure, on account of some ceremonies still retained; for, even after the review and reformation of the liturgy, many things remained which offended the admirers of the naked simplicity of presbyterian worship; such as the cross in baptism, the bowing at the name of Jesus, the kneeling at the

Lord's Supper, the observation of fasts and festivals, and the use of the surplice. The last of these upon another occasion, this reformer mentions in the following terms, the use of the linen vest together with many fooleries, *linæ vestis usum cum multis ineptiis*.

Whether we understand the words of Calvin as relating to the first liturgy or the second, in either case it is evident, that the object of his censure is not the doctrines of the church, but some of her ceremonies, which he thought frivolous. For their present simplicity she is in part indebted to his remonstrances in the reign of Edward. This assertion rests upon the best authority, the confession of a learned and ingenious adversary, Heylin, who, in his History of Presbyterianism, b. v. ch. vi., says, "the first liturgy was discontinued, and the second superinduced upon it, to give satisfaction unto Calvin's cavils, the curiosities of some and the mistakes of others of his friends and followers."

The only part of the first liturgy to which Calvin objected, on account of doctrinal error, is the passage in the communion service, at the end of the prayer for the whole state of Christ's church, "We commend to thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants which are departed from us with the sign of faith, and now rest in the sleep of peace; grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace." Prayer for the departed was judged by him to be unscriptural. Hence, in his letter to the duke of Somerset, he objected to this passage, and such was the deference paid to his authority, that in the second liturgy of Edward, the last clause of the prayer for the whole state of Christ's church was altered to its present form. The other points which he specified in that letter are the chrism and extreme unction, both of which were evidently ceremonial, the former being invented as a type of the Holy Ghost in baptism, the latter being a rite introduced in imitation of the practice of the apostles, and which ought to have ceased, together with the gift of miraculous powers.

On the whole, there appears to be no ground for the as-

sertion, that Calvin could say nothing better of the liturgy than *multas video tolerabiles ineptias*. These words have been proved to relate merely to certain forms and ceremonies which he censured as useless and frivolous; at the same time approving cordially the doctrine of the liturgy, with the single exception of one passage in the communion service, which in compliance with his wishes, was corrected.

It is also well known, that Calvin's two most intimate friends and followers, Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, who were invited to England by Cranmer, for the furtherance of the reformation, approved the doctrines of the Liturgy.

Bucer revised the Liturgy of the English church in 1550, at the request of Cranmer. The first step towards a reformation of the service of the church in England was under Henry VIII. in 1536. Alexander Aless, a Scotchman, who resided sometime in Germany, had imbibed the Lutheran sentiments. He was at this time with Cranmer at Lambeth. Lord Cromwell introduced him to the Convocation, and desired him to give his opinion about the Sacraments. He maintained that Christ instituted only two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. In this Convocation, they agreed to five articles of faith, and five concerning the ceremonies of the church. These were printed and published with the sanction of Henry.

On the accession of Edward VI. in 1547, the Liturgy of the church was new modelled from the several popish missals or mass-books, as of Sarum, Bangor, York, Hereford, and Lincoln. Thus reformed, it was published and sanctioned by Edward, in November, 1548. In 1550, the common prayer-book was brought to another revision. Bucer was now professor at Cambridge; and at Cranmer's request, Alexander Aless at this time translated the Liturgy of 1548 into Latin, for the use of Bucer. In the works of Bucer, the translation of Aless is published with the censures of Bucer, which are numerous, and which Burnet says were afterwards

mostly adopted. Bucer finished his corrections January 5, 1551, and died February 28.

The capitulation to these is as follows: "*The Corrections of Martin Bucer upon the Liturgy, or the order of the Church and the Ministry in the Kingdom of England; written at the request of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.*" Opera Bucer, p. 456.

Dr. Heylin, in labouring with much petulance to fix an odium upon Calvin, has highly complimented him, by relating some things which others of his church are anxious to deny. He says, "That Calvin having taken order with Martin Bucer, on his first coming into England, to give him some account of the English Liturgy; he had no sooner satisfied himself in the sight thereof, but he makes presently his exceptions and demurs upon it"*—and "presently writes back to Bucer, whom he requires to be instant with the Lord Protector, that all such rites as savoured of superstition might be taken away." "He had his agents in the court, the city, the universities, the country, and *the convocation.*" "*Let it suffice, that by the eagerness of their solicitations; more than for any thing which could be faulted in the book itself, it was brought under a review, (1550,) and thereby altered to a further distance than it had before, from the rituals of the church of Rome.*" Heylin Hist. Presb. p. 11 and 12.

Peter Martyr and John Alasco were of the number commissioned to revise and embody a system of ecclesiastical laws for the English church in 1552. Burnet, Vol. 2, Anno

* Calvin was not alone in his exceptions against the Liturgy, for Cranmer "*Fatebatur multa detracta oportere superflua, et ardentibus votis cupiebat ea in melius correcta.*"—*Cranmer confessed that there were many superfluous things in the Book, that ought to be taken out, and earnestly wished that it might have some further amendment.* Pierce's Vindic. p. 12, 13, quoted by Neal, Vol. 1. Quarto Ed. Appendix, p. 895.

1552. In 1551, the articles of faith in the English church were prepared. Bucer was for beginning with the doctrines before the ceremonies, but Cranmer judged it expedient to delay these till the Liturgy should be settled. In what method they proceeded in compiling the articles, Burnet says, is not certain. He supposes that Cranmer and Ridley first framed them, and that they were then sent to others to propose amendments. The doctrines of faith were comprised in forty-two articles, and published with the Liturgy in 1552, and established by the king. They were again revised and reduced with some alterations to the present number, thirty-nine, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, in 1562. Burnet, Vol. 2, p. 158, and Collection, p. 190.

Calvin's *offer* of assistance, as some have called it, who would represent him as officious in the matter, appears from one of his letters to Cranmer, to have been at the request and instigation of the archbishop, who constantly kept up a friendly communication with him on all points connected with the Reformation. Strype, in his *Life of Cranmer*, says, on page 407, that "he (Cranmer) sent his letters to Bullinger, Calvin, and Melancthon, disclosing his pious design to them, (viz. respecting a book of articles,) and requiring their counsel and furtherance." And on page 409, commences a chapter, giving an account of Calvin's correspondence with the archbishop on the subject; from which it appears, that though Calvin blamed Cranmer for not having made more progress in the Reformation, yet Cranmer, notwithstanding, "kept up a great esteem and value for him." p. 411.

The Rev. Elijah Waterman, the author of a valuable *Life of Calvin*,* in a letter addressed to William S. Johnson,

* The American editor would take this opportunity to acknowledge his indebtedness to this author, for much of the matter of his notes.

LL. D., and inserted as an appendix to his translation of Calvin's Catechism, has satisfactorily shown that the Catechism commonly called Dr. Alexander Nowell's which was sanctioned in the convocation of Bishops and Clergy, in 1562, and published in 1570 "as a standing summary of the doctrines of the English church," is in substance the Catechism of Calvin enlarged. The following extract from that letter, gives a concise account of the three Catechisms of the English church, the only ones that have ever been sanctioned in convocations of the Bishops and Clergy.

1. The Catechism of Edward VI.

The reformation commenced in the English church, in 1547, and Cranmer set forth the *Homilies*, 12 in number. In 1548, the Liturgy was compiled, by the care of archbishop Cranmer, Somerset, Ridley, and Peter Martyr, and passed the house of Lords, January 15th, 1549. This *first Liturgy* contained no Catechism of doctrinal instruction. In 1548, Calvin, in his letter to Somerset, the Protector, recommends, That a *summary of doctrines and a Catechism* for the use of children be published. "It becomes you," he says, "to be fully persuaded, that the Church of God, cannot be built up *without a Catechism*." The Protector himself translated this letter from the original French, and it was published in 1550.* The same year, the *Articles of Faith* were "set about," and completed in 1552. "As for the Catechism," Dr. Burnet says, "it was printed with a preface in the king's name, bearing date the 24th of May, 1553, about seven weeks before his death: In which he sets

* See Waterman's Life of Calvin, p. 336, and 333, where Calvin gives his approbation to the Homilies, the Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, as set forth by Cranmer, and published by Somerset, 1547. Burnet, vol. 2. p. 25.—And Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. fol. p. 72. A copy of the Protector's translation is in Harvard library, first ed. 1550.

forth that it was drawn by a pious and learned man, supposed to be bishop Poynet, and was given to be revised by some bishops and learned men.”* Rector Strype, in his *Annals*, vol. 2. p. 368, is quite confident that king Edward’s Catechism was written by Alexander Nowell. But his proof is not of much weight; as it is more probable that Nowell followed Poynet in compiling his, in 1561.† And this will better account for the “*verbatim*” resemblance between some of the questions and answers in those two works.

2. The catechism commonly called Dr. Nowell’s.

In Strype’s life of archbishop Parker, fol. p. 301, we have an account of Nowell’s Catechism. It was proposed, 1561, to be in Latin for the use of schools, that youth might be instructed in sound principles of religion, especially those of the gentry, and such as were designed for divinity. In 1562, Nowell laid one before the synod, of which he was prolocutor. In the upper house, it was committed to four bishops,‡ and after being corrected by them, it passed the review of *both houses, and had their full approbation.*§ Nowell then sent the Catechism to secretary Cecil, who returned it after about a year, with certain notes of some learned men upon it, which Nowell adopted. “*So carefully,*” says the rector of Leyton, “*and exactly was it reviewed and corrected, to make it a* STANDING SUMMARY, *OF THE DOCTRINES OF THIS CHURCH.*” As Cecil, to whom it was first dedicated, did not direct its publication, it rested in Nowell’s

* Hist. Reform. vol. 3. p. 214. fol.

† King Edward’s Catechism appears to be published at large in the first vol. of the *Christian Observer*.

‡ Dr. Heylin says that bishops *Jewel, Bentham, Alley, and Davis*, were the four who reviewed Nowell’s Catechism, February 25, 1562. Hist. Reform. p. 332.

§ See Burnet, vol. 3. p. 303. And archbishop Wake’s state of the church, fol. p. 602.

hands, five or six years, till archbishop Parker obtained the secretary's consent that it might be published, and if he pleased it might be dedicated to the bishops. Accordingly, "It was printed by Reynold Wolf, the 16th of the calends of July (that is the 16th of June) 1570, and was dedicated unto the bishops because it was offered them *seven years before in convocation, and allowed by them all, as above said.*"

"This Catechism," adds the diligent and impartial Strype, "was printed again in the year 1572, and in Greek and Latin 1573, and so from time to time had many impressions, and was used a long time in all schools, even to our days," (that is, of Charles II.) "and pity it is, *it is now so disused.*"

3. The Shorter Catechism.

On the same page, viz. 301, Strype says, "There wanted now nothing, but a shorter Catechism, for the use of the younger sort of scholars: which the dean, (Nowell,) in *his epistle to the bishops*, promised to draw up, *contracting this larger one*. And thus the church was furnished by the archbishop's furtherance and care, with this good and useful work."

Numerous writers in the Episcopal church in England, and among them some of the dignitaries of the church, have laboured to prove that the English reformers were hostile towards Calvin, and that their Confession of Faith and Catechisms, were opposed to his theological works and opinions. That no such opposition existed, says Waterman in his letter to Mr. Johnson, but that an entire harmony prevailed between those venerable reformers, and that pre-eminent minister of Christ, is beyond question evinced from the Catechism itself, which runs parallel with his, and scarcely varies from it, except in a more diffusive illustration of the doctrinal points. It is an incontrovertible fact, that at that very time, and for about fifty years after, to the arch-prelacy of William Laud, the Institutes of Calvin were *publicly read*

and studied in both Universities, by every student in divinity. And the Pope, in his Bull, excommunicating and deposing the queen, in 1569, alleges against her this offensive charge, “that she received herself and enjoined upon her subjects, the impious sacraments and institutes according to Calvin.” Every historical fact that has fallen under my observation, enforces upon my mind the conviction, that the doctrinal system of Calvin, in 1562, and in 1570, was cordially received by the bishops of the English church. In proof of this, not to rest on the circumstance, that archbishop Parker presented to the University of Cambridge *the Institutes, Commentaries, and other writings of Calvin*, I may adduce the following paragraph of the xvii. Article of Faith, as being very closely copied from Calvin’s Institutes: “Furthermore, we must receive God’s promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.”*—For this fact and the references, I am indebted to the Christian Observer, from which very candid and evangelical work, I beg leave to give the following statement:† That Dr. Randolph, bishop of Oxford, a few years before, republished “The whole of king Edward’s Catechism, the declaration of doctrines in Jewell’s Apology, and the Catechism commonly called Dr. Nowell’s, in a collection of tracts for the use of students in divinity.” The learned editors of the Observer then say, that they shall republish these “*three works, which will most clearly define THE SENSE OF THE CHURCH, IN ALL MATTERS NECESSARY TO SALVATION; and by which sense we wish our own sentiments to be inferred.*”

It will, I apprehend, be conceded, without the least restriction, that bishop Jewell was the most learned and influ-

* Cal. Instit. Lib. 3, chap. 24. §. 5, et Lib. 1, chap. 87. §. 5, and Christian Observer, vol. 3, p. 433.

† Christian Obser. vol. 1. p. 9, 10, for 1802.

ential divine among the dignitaries of his day; and that his writings were the standard of orthodoxy in the English church. He was the scholar and companion of Peter Martyr. In his exile he drank long and deep, at the theological fountains of Switzerland, Germany, and Geneva; and Lawrence Humphrey, in his life of this great man, states as an instance of his uncommon powers of memory, "*That he knew Calvin's Institutes as well as he knew his own fingers; quas, tanquam digitos suos probe noverat;*"* and, that he very much recommended that work to his friends. Bishop Jewell himself gives the most decided testimony of his very high estimation of Calvin, in his defence of his APOLOGY, against the papist Harding, who called him a disciple of Calvin. Jewell does not deny the charge, but says, "Touching Mr. Calvin, it is a great wrong untruly to report *so great a father, and so worthy an ornament of the church of God. If you had ever known the order of the church of Geneva, and had seen four thousand people or more, receiving the holy mysteries together at one communion, ye would not, without your great shame and want of modesty, thus untruly have published to the world, that by Mr. Calvin's doctrine the sacraments of Christ are superfluous.*"†

To bring the evidence on this part of the subject to a close, I will quote from Humphrey's Life of Jewell, what I consider as conclusive testimony, to prove the agreement on the essential doctrines of the gospel, among all the reformed and protestant churches. For the sake of brevity, I will omit the Latin and give it in a translation.—"In 1562, was published the *Apology of the English church*, which was approved by the consent and authority of the queen, published by the counsel of all the bishops and other clergy, as it was

* Vita Jewelli, p. 236, ed. 1573.

† Jewell's defence of his *Apology*, published 1564. See Christian Observer, vol. 3, p. 629.

also composed and written by the author, as the *public confession of the catholic and Christian faith of the ENGLISH CHURCH*, in which is taught our agreement with the GERMAN, HELVETIC, FRENCH,* SCOTCH, GENEVESE, and other pure churches.”†

Now, that which consummates this argument, is the fact, that *Jewell's Apology*, the *Thirty-nine Articles*, and *Nowell's Catechism*, were all passed and sanctioned by the same venerable convocation, in 1562. They were all designed alike to support one cause, and to establish and perpetuate the same doctrines; and of course they must be in agreement among themselves. Bishop *Jewell's Apology* was designed as the defensive armour of the church, against the calumnies of the papists; *the Articles*, to preserve her internal union in doctrines and worship; and *the Catechism*, to imbue the minds of youths, with pure principles, which was by no means the least important concern of the reformers.

That Calvinistic sentiments were held by the clergy during the reign of Edward VI. there can be no doubt. Mosheim says, “that after the death of Henry (VIII.) the universities, the schools, and the churches, became the oracles of Calvinism; and that when it was proposed, in Edward the Sixth's reign, to give a fixed and stable turn to the doctrine and discipline of the church, Geneva was acknowledged as a sister church, and the theological system there established by Calvin was adopted, and rendered the public rule of faith in England.” That the doctrines of the church of England were deemed, by many of the reformers themselves, to be not at variance with Calvin's Institutes might easily be shown. A remarkable testimony to this effect will be found in Fox's detail of the examination of the martyr Philpot, the

* Calvin drew up the confession of the French churches—Vide Harm. Confess. Catal. Confess.

† Vita Jewelli, p. 177.

first protestant archdeacon of Winchester, in the reign of Edward VI. "Which of you all," said he to his popish judges, "is able to answer Calvin's Institutions, who is minister of Geneva?" "I am sure you blaspheme that godly man and that godly church, where he is minister, as it is your church's condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports : for in the matter of predestination he (Calvin) is in no other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing with the Scriptures." On another examination, he said, "I allow the church of Geneva and the doctrine of the same ; for it is *una, catholica, et apostolica*, and doth follow the doctrine which the apostles did preach : *and the doctrine taught and preached in king Edward's days was also according to the same.*" (Fox, Volume III. see Philpot's Examinations.)

Bradford wrote a treatise on the doctrine of election, proving its truth from the first chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. This work was approved by Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, as appears from the following extract from Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 350 :

"One thing there now fell out which caused some disturbance among the prisoners. Many of them that were under restraint for the profession of the gospel were such as held free-will, tending to the derogation of God's grace, and refused the doctrines of absolute predestination and original sin."—"Divers of them were in the King's Bench, where Bradford and many other gospellers were."—"Bradford was apprehensive that they might now do great harm in the church, and therefore wrote a letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the three chief heads of the reformed (though oppressed) church in England, to take some cognizance of this matter, and to consult with them in remedying it. And with him joined bishop Ferrar, Rowland Taylor, and John Philpot. Upon this occasion, Ridley wrote a treatise of *God's election and predestination*. And Bradford wrote another upon the same subject, and sent it to those three fathers, in Oxford,

for their approbation : and THEIR'S BEING OBTAINED, *the rest of the eminent ministers in and about London were ready to sign it also.*"

The notes to the Bible, to which archbishop Parker wrote a preface, are highly Calvinistic. These notes, as we are informed by Strype, in his *Life of Archbishop Parker*, p. 400, were drawn up by the bishops, but chiefly by the archbishops. As a specimen of these notes, we insert that on Ezekiel xviii. 23. "Have I any desire that the wicked should die, saith the Lord God?" The note is as follows: "Hee speaketh this to commend God's mercie to poor sinners, who rather is ready to pardon than to punish, as his long suffering declareth. Albeit *God in his eternal counsel appointed the death and damnation of the reprobate*, yet the end of his counsel was not their death *only*, but chiefly his own glory." In the same volume was inserted, under the same authority, viz. that of the bishops and archbishops of the church of England, the well known Calvinistic Catechism, entitled, "Certain Questions and Answers touching the doctrine of Predestination, the use of God's Word and Sacraments." In this Catechism, not only the doctrine of election, but that of reprobation also, is plainly and explicitly affirmed and defended.

The divines deputed by king James, to attend the synod of Dort, were bishops Hall, Davenant, and Ward, who were all eminent and decided Calvinists. King James himself, held the same theological opinions, and strongly disapproved of Arminius and his sentiments. That the divines above named, were Calvinists, is evident from the fact, that they individually and collectively subscribed to *all* the acts of that synod, in condemnation of the Arminians. King James, in his declaration against Vorstius, calls Arminius, "that enemy of God;" "who was the first in our age that infected Leyden with heresy." And, speaking of "seditious and heretical preachers," he adds, "our principal meaning was of Arminius, who though himself were lately dead, yet had he left

too many of his disciples behind him." "It was our hard hap not to hear of this Arminius before he was dead, and that all the reformed churches of Germany had with open mouth complained of him." King James' Works, (p. 350, 354, 355.) In a meditation upon the Lord's prayer, king James says, "the first article of the apostles' creed teaches us, that God is Almighty, however *Vorstius* and the Arminians think to rob him of his eternal decree and secret will, making many things to be done in this world whether he will or not." (Works, 581.) It is remarkable, that the synod of Dort was expressly assembled at the persuasion of king James: and even Dr. Heylin admits that the king "had laboured to condemn those, viz. (the Arminian) opinions at the synod of Dort."—Life of Laud, p. 120.

The archbishops Whitgift, Hutton, and Parker, were all Calvinists, and approved of the Lambeth articles. The predestinarian controversy, which led to the composition of those articles, began at Cambridge in the year 1595; certain individuals of name in the university having about that period publicly denied some of the doctrines usually denominated Calvinistic. For the purpose of allaying the ferment thus excited, the heads of colleges deputed Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Tyndal to wait upon the archbishop at Lambeth, there to confer upon the subject with his Grace, and other learned and eminent men. At this conference the Lambeth Articles were drawn up and approved; and a copy of them was soon after sent to Cambridge by the archbishop, with a letter and private directions to teach the doctrine contained in them, in that university.

The reader will find, (in Fuller's Church History, book ix. p. 229,) in the account of the Lambeth Articles, the following sentence:—"Now also began some opinions about predestination, free-will, perseverance, &c. much to trouble both the schools and pulpit; whereupon archbishop Whitgift, out of his Christian care to propagate the truth, and suppress the opposite errors, caused a solemn meeting of

many grave and learned divines at Lambeth ; where (besides the archbishop,) Richard Bancroft, bishop of London, Richard Vaughan, bishop elect of Bangor, Humphrey Tyndall, dean of Ely, Dr. Whitaker, queen's professor in Cambridge, and others, were assembled. These, after a serious debate and mature deliberation, resolved at last on the now following Articles."

"1. God from eternity hath predestinated certain men unto life : certain men he hath reprobated unto death.

"2. The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life, is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the persons predestinated, but only the good-will and pleasure of God.

"3. There is a predetermined and certain number of the predestinate, which can neither be augmented nor diminished.

"4. They who are not predestinated to salvation, shall necessarily be damned for their sins.

"5. A true, living, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, faileth not, vanisheth not away in the elect, either finally or totally.

"6. A man truly faithful, that is, such a one as is endued with justifying faith, is certain, with the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins and his everlasting salvation by Christ.

"7. Saving grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to all men, by which they may be saved if they will.

"8. No man can come unto Christ unless it be given unto him, and unless the Father draw him : all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.

"9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved."

With respect to the principles contained in these Articles, we are assured by Whitgift that they were generally recognised :—" I know them," says he, " to be sound doctrines,

and uniformly professed in this church of England, and agreeable to the Articles of Religion established by authority : and therefore I thought it meet that Baret should in more humble sort confess his ignorance and error ; and that none should be suffered to teach any contrary doctrine to the foresaid propositions agreed upon." So just are the observations of bishop Horsley, " Any one may hold all the theological opinions of Calvin, hard and extravagant as some of them may seem, and yet be a sound member of the church of England and Ireland"....." Her discipline has been submitted to, it has in former times been most ably and zealously defended, by the highest supralapsarian Calvinists. Such was the great Usher ; such was Whitgift ; such were many more burning and shining lights of our church in her early days, when she shook off the papal tyranny, long since gone to the resting place of the spirits of the just."

Indeed, it must be considered as a little extraordinary, that any person acquainted with the history of those times, should mistake the real nature of the question between the Established church and the Puritanical party : it was not a question of *doctrine*, but of *discipline*.

Archbishops Grindall, Bancroft, and Abbott were also strict Calvinists. The doctrinal sentiments of Thomas Fuller, the church historian, are expressed in a brief compass in his Church History, lib. ix. p. 232. He cordially approved of the Lambeth Articles, and considers them as witnesses of " the general and received doctrines of England in that age about the forenamed controversies." Hutton, archbishop of York, mentions the Puritans of his time, who were Calvinistic, as agreeing with the English church in doctrine, though they differed as to ceremonies and accidents. And those of king Charles' time, so far resembled them as generally to approve of such articles as are strictly doctrinal. And the sense which they affixed to the articles was Calvinistic, according the notions which had usually prevailed till Charles' days, both in and out of the establishment. Bax-

ter furnishes many proofs of this fact, so far as it respects Presbyterians. Life of Baxter, pp. 213—223, &c.

At what period, then, did the members of the church of England generally change their opinions on the subject of doctrinal Calvinism? It is intimated by Mosheim, that the change took place soon after the Synod of Dort: and this change he informs us, which was entirely in favour of Arminianism, was principally effected by the counsels and influence of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury.* “As the church of England had not yet abandoned the Calvinistical doctrines of *predestination* and *grace*, he (James) also adhered to them for some time, and gave his theological representatives in the Synod of Dordrecht, an order to join in the condemnation of the sentiments of Arminius, in relation to these deep and intricate points. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of remarkable gravity, and of eminent zeal both for civil and religious liberty, whose lenity towards their ancestors, the Puritans still celebrate in the highest strains, used his utmost endeavours to confirm the king in the principles of Calvinism, to which he himself was thoroughly attached. But scarcely had the British divines returned from Dordrecht, and given an account of the laws that had been enacted, and the doctrines that had been established by that famous assembly, than the king and the greatest part of the Episcopal clergy discovered, in the strongest terms, their dislike of the proceedings, and judged the sentiments of Arminius, relating to the divine decrees, preferable to those of Geneva and of Calvin. This *sudden* change in the theological opinions of the court and clergy, was certainly owing to a variety of reasons,” &c.† Here, then, we have Laud described as the first anti-Calvinistic archbishop; and the time distinctly marked when the change of sentiment took place generally in the church of England.

* Cent. xvi. sect. II. part ii.

† Cent. xvii. sect. II. part ii.

From this period, the Institutes of Calvin, which had till then been so highly appreciated both in England and on the continent, began to be less valued, less read, and less known. Bayle states, from Schultingius, “that as soon as this work of Calvin was published at Strasburg, about the year 1545, Bernard Cincius, bishop of Aquila, carried a copy of it to cardinal Marcellus Cervin, legate of the pope at the court of the emperor; and that these two able men judged it to be a more dangerous book than all the *other* writings of the *Lutherans*.” Schultingius was a papist, and canon of Cologne. He undertook to confute the Institutes of Calvin. “This work was considered,” he says, “as the principal fortress of the protestants.” He proceeds to give an account of the numerous editions through which it had passed; besides its abridgments and translations into different languages. He says, that in England they almost gave Calvin’s Institutes the preference to the Bible; that the bishops ordered all the ministers *ut pene ad verbum has ediscant,—that they should learn them almost to a word;—and ut tum Anglice exactissime versi, in singulis Ecclesiis a parochis legendi appendantur,—that being most exactly turned into English, they should be kept in all the churches for public use;—that they were also studied in both the Universities;—that in Scotland the young students in divinity began by reading these Institutes;—that at Heidelberg, Geneva, Herborne, and in all the Calvinistical Universities, these Institutes were publicly taught by the professors;—that in Holland, ministers, civilians, and the common people studied this work with great diligence, even the coachman and the sailor nocturna verset manu, versetque diurna;—that esteeming it as a pearl of great price, they had it bound and gilt in the most elegant manner. This work, Schultingius asserts, was appealed to as a standard, on all theological questions. Such is the account given of the authority of Calvin’s Institutes by a professed papist, who lifted up his mighty arm to destroy this*

principal fortress of the Protestants, in four large folio volumes, published at Cologne, in the year 1602.*

The animosity enkindled by the Arminian controversy, supported by the half papist and persecuting archbishop Laud, changed the state of things in respect to the authority of Calvin's Institutes in England. Francis Cheynell, in his Sermon to the Commons, March 25, 1646, p. 42, says : " The old statutes did recommend Calvin's Institutions to tutors, as a fit book to be expounded to their scholars. But that good statute was omitted in the book of new statutes ; because there are so many precious truths in Calvin's Institutions *contrary to the piety of those times† in which the new statutes were enacted*. We begin to see with one eye, and hope that we shall in due time recover the other."

From the time of Laud, then, we may date that opposition which has so long prevailed in England against Calvin and his writings ; and which has led to many of those unchristian and disingenuous misrepresentations which were designed to blast the one, and suppress the influence of the other. 'The unhallowed aspersions, which have been circulated by the dominant class of Arminians *in that country* respecting Calvin, have been with some persons *in this*, of bigoted and feverish minds, a sufficient argument for reproaching him, and all those who are denominated from his name, with cherishing an intolerant spirit in matters of religion.

The inquisitorial mania of archbishop Laud, still so far

* See Bayle, Art. Schultingius.

† When Laud was archbishop of Canterbury, he was charged with popish inclinations. A lady who had turned papist, being asked by the archbishop the cause of her changing her religion, tartly replied, My Lord, it was because *I ever hated a crowd*. He requested her to explain. *I perceived*, said she, *that your Lordship and many others were making for Rome with all speed*, and to prevent a press, I went before you.--Bayle.

prevails among the dignitaries of the English church, as to render it somewhat indispensable, on public occasions, for the preacher who would prove his orthodoxy, and secure his popularity, to speak directly or indirectly of "the impious dogmas of Calvin."

The Rev. and pious John Newton, of the church of England, who was a Calvinist, thus writes to a friend, under date Nov. 17, 1775: "My divinity is unfashionable enough at present, but it was not so always; you will find few books written from the era of the Reformation, till a little before Laud's time, that set forth any other. There were few pulpits till after the restoration, from which any other was heard. A lamentable change has indeed since taken place; but God has not left himself without witnesses."

If the reader wishes to pursue this inquiry farther, he may consult Toplady's History of Calvinism in the church of England.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE reader will be able to learn much of the character and spirit of Calvin, from the following selection from his correspondence.

LETTER I.—BUCER TO CALVIN.

Grace and peace be multiplied to you, my much esteemed brother, and fellow-labourer in the Lord. We have entreated the illustrious and truly noble Maurus Museus, personally at Basil, and now by letters, to obtain your consent to assist us in our controversial disputes on religious subjects. We must acknowledge, as it appears to us, that the Lord has destined you to be eminently useful to his churches, and will extensively bless your ministry. We are anxious that both we ourselves, our churches, and those who are preparing for the ministry with us or elsewhere, should be in harmony with your sentiments on every point of theology. You must be sensible, how extensively injurious it will be to the cause of the churches, if a difference of opinion is entertained, even on minor points, among the principal pastors. If we are faithful to ourselves, the Lord, I trust, will put it in our power to promote unanimity of opinion among the ministers and churches, especially if we can have your doctrines illustrated and enforced by yourself.

We will cheerfully meet you, in any place you will appoint, for the purpose of a conference upon the whole admin-

istration of evangelical doctrines, preserving the highest respect for the truth of Christ, and a becoming regard for you in the Lord. This age has so advanced in the practice of calumniating whatever is judiciously said, or correctly written, and of judging with the most rigid severity whatever is of an opposite character, that it becomes us to use every means to render our ministry as influential, as its importance is dignified. We are under the strongest obligations, to bring all our exertions into unison, both to secure our writings and discourses from any unmerited reproach; and to exhibit the beauty of holiness in that simplicity of language which is adapted to the capacities of the very children in the church of Christ. You are sensible, my respected brother, and fellow-labourer in the Lord, how highly the apostle Paul estimated the meetings and conferences of holy men, as tending to promote knowledge and purity; how cheerfully he travelled over land and sea to animate those believers, whom he knew to be anxious for the edification of the church, to be frequent in their society. Appoint, therefore, a place, either at Basil, Bern, or even at Geneva, if the duties of your office confine you, that we may religiously confer upon subjects, which, although clearly apprehended by you, to our tardy understandings, require a more extensive illustration. The wise are debtors to the unwise, that they also may understand. It would afford us much pleasure, did our ecclesiastical duties, which we cannot neglect, allow us, even uninvited and transiently, to visit the Swiss churches. I cannot well express how much it grieves me not to have known and conversed with you, when you were here. Capito, however, communicates every thing to me. I know not what evil spirit made him so forgetful as not to introduce you to me, which omission he now very much regrets. Farewell, most learned and holy man.

Strasburg, November 1, 1536.

LETTER II.—CALVIN TO PETER CAROLI.

Grace and peace to you from the Lord, who can inspire both you and us with a good understanding and a right heart. Since your situation is such, we should have preferred to have you presented yourself in person, to treat in our presence concerning a reconciliation, rather than that you should attempt this by a letter. You vehemently labour to prove, that you did not excite disturbances in the church without just cause; as if there could be some good reason for exciting those disturbances. Grant that you were not treated in that manner, by the brethren, which you ought to have been. Would this indeed furnish you with a right to raise such a tumult? Will you say, that it was the Spirit of God that influenced you to declare war upon us all? I do not say this to upraid you; I wish I was permitted to be wholly silent. But while you connect all those with Satan, who did not, at least according to your opinion, treat you with sufficient equity, you certainly suppose them to be very stupid, if you imagine that this business can be passed over in silence. You still glory in this, that you have attempted nothing against the gospel even at Metz. But by what method will you prove this to us? If any one carries on a warfare with a profound servant of Christ, and instead of aiding, obstructs, in every possible manner, the kingdom of Christ, would it not be strange if you should declare such a man to stand on the side of the gospel? Look, I beseech you, again and again, to the end of your course. We hold a ministry in no manner separated from Christ. If you doubt this, we still have the certain and confident testimony of our conscience. You may flatter yourself as you will; you will at last find, that it is hard kicking against the pricks. In the mean time, how are you able to injure us? You will call us heretics. Where? Among those, for instance, who

hold you as a heretic, and at this very moment expose your falsehoods. Among the pious and the learned, I fear no injury from your reproaches. They see all these things in that light, in which I would have you receive them, and call them to mind before that God whose presence you begin to acknowledge. And I beseech you, do not meditate your defence by the condemnation of that injustice in others, for which you want not only a foundation, but even a pretext. If you still persevere in this way, I shall be satisfied. I would not, by any means, have you cast away all hope and courage. For if you will exhibit to us the true and substantial index of a right mind, we are sincerely prepared to have you return immediately into our favour, and have all things buried, forgiven, and erased wholly from the memory. I wish you were able, Caroli, to inspect my breast; for there is nothing I more desire, than that you should in the first place be reconciled to God, that a lasting union might be formed between us. But, believe me, you will never acceptably serve the Lord, unless you lay aside your haughtiness and bitterness of tongue. If you have then a mind to return into favour with us, we are prepared to embrace you, and to render you every office of kindness in our power. But we are not able to enter into that compact which you demand; for how shall we at this time promise you a church? In the first place, you know, that churches are not at our disposal; besides, with what conscience should we promise that to you, before it is evident, that we agree in doctrine. You do not dissemble but that as yet you differ from us; and yet you would have us designate a place for you as a teacher. Weigh, yourself, the extreme impropriety of this. Were we to be so obsequious to you, you would correctly judge us to be something more than stupid. But to conclude, I beseech you to examine thoroughly the whole cause, by yourself, with a composed and sedate mind, and weigh this letter in the scales of candid and impartial judgment. You certainly know, that it is the highest wisdom to

turn from the evil course into which you have entered. If you will make the experiment, no office of friendship shall be wanting to you, when restored, from me, and Farel seriously promises the same for himself. You will remember, that the charity which you so severely demand of others, must be shown, in some measure, towards others. If I seem to be somewhat too severe, think what your letter deserves. I mention this only to profit you; what I have written, is for the purpose of calling up your sins to your remembrance. Farewell, my brother in the Lord, if you suffer yourself to be esteemed and to hold the place of a brother. The Lord Jesus Christ guide you by the spirit of counsel and prudence, that from those dangerous rocks, against which you have broken, and that tempestuous sea, on which you are tossed, you may be received safe into the haven of rest. Your sincere friend,

JOHN CALVIN.

Strasburg, August 10, 1540.

P. S. Farel bids you to be in health, and wishes that you may be sincerely converted to the Lord, and so may you be prepared to return to our friendship and fraternal union, as we ourselves are prepared to embrace you.



LETTER III.—CALVIN TO FAREL.

To preclude your further anxiety for my long expected letter, I shall forward it fresh from my pen, without waiting for the arrival of Michael. I will pass at present my conference with Melancthon; and state the progress of affairs since my last. The unjust conditions, boldly advanced by the ambassador of the emperor, had well nigh terminated in the assumption of arms to settle the controversy. He proposed that our brethren should separate from the Sacramen-

tarians.* You will be aware, that this is the artifice of satan, who cherishes on this occasion the former animosities which he sowed; while at the same time new offences, like flaming torches, are kindled up to excite still greater contention. Our German brethren, however, while they refuse to acknowledge the Sacramentarians, are desirous of a union with the Helvetic churches. The emperor eventually relinquished this point, which he had laboured to establish as the means of effecting a truce. I earnestly wish, that these things may be useful to the churches; but in looking them over in their effects, they promise, in my opinion, nothing beneficial. The elector of Saxony clearly apprehends this, and though supposed to be habitually of a dilatory temperament, he is now fixed in the opinion, that we are under the necessity of hazarding the consequences of war. The landgrave, beyond all expectation, dissuades from warlike measures; and although he consents to yield to his allies, if they shall judge it expedient, yet his influence has operated extensively in abating the ardour of those who reposed a confidence in his constitutional promptitude. The prospect now looks favourable for an approaching truce, in which every attention will be given to those objects that may be conducive to unanimity of opinion. The adversaries,† intent to frustrate our purpose in uniting the churches, meditate only measures which may bring about the war. The elector of Saxony will go from the assembly to visit the duke of Cleves, whose sister he married. If the elector can draw the duke over to the cause of religion, it will be a great benefit to the church of Christ. He is the most powerful

* These were the followers of Zuinglius, of the church of Zurich, between whom and the followers of Luther there was a wide difference of opinion, about the manner of the presence of Christ in the sacrament.

† These were the Pope's agents, as appears from Seckendorf, vol. 2, anno 1539.

among the princes of Lower Germany; and is not exceeded in extent of dominion, nor surpassed in superiority of jurisdiction, by any but Ferdinand himself.

When Bucer last wrote me, nothing had been determined concerning the embassy to the king of France, for the safety of the brethren, and the support of the cause of religion. The subject will be discussed and arranged, when other matters shall have been determined, as they will then be enabled to state their request to the king with more fulness and force of argument.

My conference with Melancthon embraced a great variety of subjects. Having previously written him concerning the agreement, I urged the necessity of obtaining the opinion of the best men, upon a matter of so much importance. I forwarded to him a few articles, in which I had concisely summed up the doctrines of truth. To these he consented without controversy, but stated that some in that quarter demanded something more full and explicit, and with such obstinacy and overbearingness that he was, for some time, in danger of being considered as having wholly departed from their opinions. Although he did not suppose that an established agreement would continue long, he still wished that this union, whatever it might be, should be cherished, until the Lord should draw us on both sides into the unity of his truth. Doubt not but that Melancthon is wholly in opinion with us.

It would be tedious to detail our conversations on a diversity of subjects; but they will afford us an agreeable topic at some future interview. When we entered on the subject of discipline, he mourned, as we all of us do, about that unhappy state of the church, which we are all allowed to deplore, rather than correct. You must not suppose that you alone labour under the painful burden of ineffectual discipline. Every day new examples are occurring, which should excite us all to the most vigorous exertions, to obtain

the desired remedy for these evils. A minister of integrity and learning was lately ejected from Ulm, with the severest reproach, because he would not indulge them in their vices. He was dismissed with a very honourable recommendation from all his colleagues, and especially from Frechthus. When this was reported at Augsburg, it excited the most unpleasant sensations. These things have a tendency to encourage the licentious to consider it as a matter of sport, to interrupt the pastors in their ministerial duties, and to drive them into exile. Nor can this evil be remedied, as neither the people nor the princes distinguish between the brotherly discipline of Christ, and the tyranny of the pope.

It is the opinion of Melancthon, that we must yield, in a due degree, to the adverse winds of this tempestuous season; and without despairing of eventual success, cast our eyes forward to some favourable moment, when our enemies may be less powerful, and we more able to introduce the remedy for these internal evils. Capito is strongly impressed with the belief that the church is ruined, unless God shall supply some speedy succours, and good men become united in her defence. Despairing of doing any good, he has a desire for death as a release from his unprofitable labours. But if our vocation is of the Lord, of which we are confident, he will bless and succeed us through all the difficulties that may be thrown in our way. Let us attempt all remedies, and if they fail, still let us persist in our calling to the last breath.

The Waldensian brethren are indebted to me for a crown, one part of which I lent them, and the other I paid to their messenger, who came with my brother to bring the letter from Sonerius. I requested them to pay it to you, as it will partly pay you my debt, the rest I will pay when I can. Such is my condition now, that I have not a penny. It is singular, although my expenses are so great, that I must still live upon my own money unless I would burden my brethren. It is not easy for me to take that care of my

health which you recommend so affectionately. Farewell, beloved brother. The Lord give you strength and support in all your troubles.

JOHN CALVIN.

Frankfort, March, 1539.

LETTER IV.—CALVIN TO FAREL.

The day after I received your letter, the last but one, I set out for Frankfort. I omitted to answer it, as my journey was entirely unexpected. Bucer having informed me that he could accomplish nothing concerning the cause of the brethren, I immediately started for that place, lest their safety should be neglected among the crowd of business to be transacted. I was also anxious to confer with Melancthon on religion, and the discipline of the church. The entreaties of Capito and others furnished additional motives, as did also the pleasure I anticipated in the society of Sturmius and other good men who were to accompany me. As to the advice in answer to the questions of Sonerius, I solemnly declare, that I recommended no other union to the brethren, than what is exhibited in the example of Christ, who did not hesitate to partake of the mysteries of God with the Jews, notwithstanding their deplorable impiety. They weighed my advice with caution, and were dissatisfied, that I made a difference between the minister and the people. Of the dispenser of the ordinance, faith and prudence were required; of the people, that each one examine himself, and prove his own faith. But this will be easily explained when we have an opportunity of conversing on the subject. The evident judgments of God against those noxious spirits, who disturb the peace of the church, afford me some pleasure mingled with my grief, for I see that these scourges were not altogether unmerited. It is however desirable, that a gracious Providence would, by some means, free his churches from such polluted members. You say very correctly,

that their consciousness of guilt is accompanied with an anxiety to have every thing buried in the deepest obscurity, lest their own personal baseness should be detected. Perplexed with the subterfuges of the wicked, we must labour to the extent of our power, and leave the event to the infinitely wise management of God. I should be gratified in obliterating from the memory all those evils, which cannot be remedied without injury to the cause. But it would be injurious to hide, in the bowels of the church, those bitter animosities, hatreds, and doctrinal differences, whose virulence would thus be nourished, till ultimately the body would be covered with infectious ulcers. Evils of this kind must be remedied, when lenient measures fail, with a reasonable severity. But when the circumstances will admit, a middle way should be pursued, to restore the dignity of the ministry, to bring back the health of the church, to call into exercise forbearance for small offences, and leave no necessity for intermeddling anew with evils concealed or suppressed. The irritation of some wounds is increased by applications, and their cure only effected by quietness and neglect. We find this to be the state of things at Frankfort.

From the house of Saxony, the elector, his brother, and his grandson Maurice, are present, attended by four hundred horsemen. The landgrave was accompanied by the same number. The duke of Lunenburg arrived with less pomp. Others are present whose names I do not remember. The other confederates, the king of Denmark and the duke of Prussia, and some others, sent ambassadors. This is not strange, as it would be hazardous for them to leave their own dominions, at so great a distance, in the present confused and perilous state of affairs. All were displeased, that the duke of Wirtemberg, at the distance of only two days' travel, should prefer his hunting and other diverting sports, to consulting for the safety of his country, and perhaps of his head. He apologized indeed by others, that he was not

afraid to entrust the whole care to those whom he knew to be greatly interested in the issue of the business. Men of the first distinction were delegates from the cities.

In the first session, war was decreed by a unanimous suffrage of the assembly. At this time, two electors, the count palatine, and Joachim of Brandenburg, with the Spanish ambassador, Vesalis, the bishop of Lunden, came into the convention. The first opened the mandate of the emperor, which authorized them to make peace, or agree upon a truce with us, on such conditions as they should judge best. With laboured harangues, and accumulated arguments, they endeavoured to persuade us to yield to terms of pacification. The point which they urged most strenuously, and on which they felt our influence most sensibly, was, that the *Grand Turk* would prosecute his warlike measures with more vigour, in proportion as he saw Germany distracted with intestine wars: that having possessed himself of *Wallachia*, he held by treaty from the Poles, the right of a free passage through their dominions, and of course he was now threatening the territories of the emperor with invasion. They moved us to draw up the conditions of a peace; and if this could not be effected, they were anxious that a truce should be established. We made no question of their sincerity and good faith. For Joachim was favourable to the cause of the gospel, and the palatine was by no means unfriendly to its success. But as our confidence did not repose with ease on the mandates of Vesalis the Spaniard, we preferred that the affair should be arranged by the electors, who exercised the supreme authority in the empire. This was opposed by the elector of Saxony, who, for various reasons, entertained an implacable aversion to the elector of Mentz, and who, being uncle to Joachim, dared not consent to an assembly from which his relative was excluded. Our advocates, therefore, after stating the injuries they had received, and the causes which had forced them, unwillingly, into a war, proposed the conditions of peace. These conditions asserted the right of

government over their own churches, the authority of appointing their own ministers, and of securing to those who united with them the privileges of their league. After these articles were presented, we left Frankfort. Bucer has since informed me, that the two imperial electors granted us something more than the Spaniard was willing to sanction. The reason of this arose from the necessity the emperor was under, of courting the assistance of the papists against the Turks, as well as ours; so he endeavoured to please both parties without giving offence to either. At the close, he required that, when the present state of affairs should be changed, the learned and pious, who were disposed for union, should assemble and agree upon the articles of religion which were now in controversy; and that the whole business should then be referred to a Diet of the empire, in which all the controversies of the several branches of the German reformed churches should be closed. This ambassador proposed, for the arrangement of these matters, a truce for one year. Our members are not satisfied with the shortness of the time, nor the uncertainty of the issue. Every thing thus remains in suspense; and unless the emperor makes further proposals, the continuance of war seems inevitable.

The petition from Henry VIII. requested that an ambassador, accompanied by Philip Melancthon, should be sent to assist in the more secure and correct establishment of the English church. The princes had no hesitation about sending an ambassador; but were unwilling to send Melancthon, suspecting that he was too yielding and irresolute. He is, however, neither ignorant nor dissembling in the opinions which he forms; and he even solemnly affirmed to me that their fears were unfounded.

I believe I know him perfectly; and I should as confidently trust him as Bucer, when he has to manage with men who wish to secure to themselves ample room for the indulgence of their vices. Bucer is so zealous in spreading the gospel, that, contented with conformity to the principal

points, he too carelessly gives up those smaller ones, which may have an extensive influence in their consequences. Henry himself is, in fact, but half instructed. He prohibits the marriage of bishops and priests, under the severe penalty of being deprived of the power and privileges of their office; retains the daily masses; would preserve the seven sacraments; and thus have a gospel mutilated and dismembered, and a church filled with many vanities. He moreover manifests the established mark of a weak head, by refusing the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and proceeding to prohibit, by a new edict, the reading of them by the common people. And to put the matter beyond a question, that he is not in jest, he has, to the grief of all the pious, lately caused an honest and learned man to be burnt at the stake for denying the real presence of the flesh of Christ in the sacramental bread.

The princes of the empire, though generally incensed with such cruelties, will not relinquish the embassy, out of regard to the cause of religion, and its progress and security in that kingdom. The death of the son of prince George, who had been confined on account of insanity, took place while the Convention was sitting at Frankfort. His successor will doubtless be Maurice, whom I named among the confederates; and of course the possessions of George will be soon added to support the little flock of Christ. So uncertain are the events which may change extensively the present face of affairs. Our confidence is in God, and our duty is to pray fervently, that he would grant a favourable issue to the present confused and perplexed state of things. My success in the cause of the brethren, and the subjects of my conference with Philip, you will learn more minutely from Michael. My letter is unfinished, but the messenger will not tarry. Farewell, beloved brother. Salute Thomas and all the brethren from me. Capito and Sturmius salute you. Yours, &c.

JOHN CALVIN.

March 16, 1533.

LETTER V.—CALVIN TO VIRET.

When your letters were handed me, I was prepared for my journey, and in the course of my life I do not remember one more tumultuous. I now catch a moment at Ulm, to answer you in a brief and confused manner. A traveller in a tavern has not much time to meditate, and properly arrange what he writes. Your letter, if I correctly remember, is divided into two parts—In the first, you would prove that the church at Geneva should not be abandoned. In the second, you contend that I ought to hasten my return, lest satan should take advantage of my dilatoriness, and throw some impediment in the way. To this I answer, as I have always done, that there is no place on earth, I so much dread as Geneva; not because I bear any hatred to them, but because I see so many difficulties in my way, which I am very far from being able to surmount. When I call to mind the events of times past, I cannot help shuddering at the thought of being obliged to throw myself afresh into the midst of those former contentions. If my business was to be with the church only, my mind would be more easy; at least I should feel less dread. But you must understand much more than I can write. Take in a word, that I know, by various channels, that he, who can most injure me, bears still an implacable hatred against me. When I consider the numerous ways which lie open to him for doing evil, how many instruments are prepared for exciting the flames of contention, and how many occasions will present themselves to him, against which I can by no foresight provide, I am wholly disheartened. Many other things in that city give me no small anxiety. As I progress in experience, I am more sensible of the arduous office of governing a church. I am not, however, unwilling or unprepared, as far as I understand my ability, to afford any assistance to that unhappy church. These thoughts disturb and perplex my mind with

delaying anxieties ; but their influence will not prevent me from doing every thing which I may judge to be for its welfare. Farel is my witness, that I have never uttered a word against their calling me to return ; I only entreated him that he would not, by officiousness, lose a second time that church already in ruins. I have given sufficient proof, that nothing is more conformable to my wishes, than to give up my life in discharge of my duty. I do not dissemble when I say this. When the Genevese ambassadors came to Worms, I entreated our friends with tears, that, omitting all consideration of me, they should consult, in the presence of God, what would be most beneficial to the church which implored their assistance. When we came to the house, although no one urged this question, I did not cease to importune them with my prayers, to consider seriously upon this subject ; and they were not wanting in their duty. As we suspected, they almost immediately decreed, that I should be united with Bucer. But I declare to you, as I did to Farel, that this was not fairly settled ; for it was determined before we returned from the Convention of Worms, by the influence of those who least consulted the good of Geneva. If you consult me, I see no reason why I should be sent on this mission to Ratisbon ; but being appointed, I could not refuse, unless I wished to hear myself every where abused. When I received your letters, I was not at liberty to deliberate. I have stated the fact as my excuse. You have now an answer to both your inquiries. I never have, I never can refuse to go to Geneva ; and I promise you that my resolution shall not be changed, unless some more powerful obstacle closes up the way. I am charged with the care of that church ; and I know not how it is, but I feel myself more inclined to take the government of it, if indeed the circumstances demand it as my duty. It is agreed, that after our return from Ratisbon, I should go to Geneva with Bucer. We will then consult what will be most expedient, under

the existing circumstances, for the re-establishment of a pastor, and the renovation of the whole church. The decision will have more influence, and the operation will be more effectual, as we shall have present those from whom we have most to fear afterwards. When the business is once settled, they will be bound by their own judgment, and prevented from exclaiming against its operation; and also from exciting others to disturb the established order. In the mean time, my brother, I entreat you for Christ's sake, to be of good courage. The more uncertain our continuance is in this life, the less we should be troubled about the delay of those events which we earnestly desire. There are many things I know, which must cause you trouble and anxiety; but consider that these are trials appointed of the Lord, to support you till his coming. The day before I received your letters, I wrote to the senate of Geneva, excusing my delay in coming to them; and I doubt not but my excuse has been accepted. Farewell, my beloved brother. Salute, in my name, all who are devoted to the truth. May the Spirit of the Lord strengthen you for all good works.

Ulm, March 1, 1541.

LETTER VI.—CALVIN TO FAREL.

I am retained here as you wished; which may God grant to be for his glory. Viret still continues with me, nor will I suffer him by any means to be torn from me. It is your duty, and that of all the brethren, to afford me assistance, unless you wish me to be tormented and miserable, without doing any good to the cause. I reported the labours of my office to the senate, and assured them of the impossibility of settling the church on any permanent foundation, unless a system of discipline was adopted, such as is prescribed by the word of God, and was observed by the ancient church.

I treated upon certain points, which might sufficiently explain my wishes. And without entering upon the whole ground, I requested them to appoint some members who might confer with us on the subject. They chose a committee of six. Articles concerning the whole polity of the church will be drawn up, which we shall lay before the senate. Our three colleagues pretend that they will consent to whatever Viret and myself shall judge expedient. Something will be effected. We are anxious to hear how matters progress in your church. We hope, through the authority of the Bernese and the Biellese, that the commotions are at least allayed, if not terminated. When fighting against the devil, under the banner of Christ, He who armed and directed you to the battle, will give you the victory. But a good cause requires a good defender; take heed, therefore, and give diligence, that those qualifications may be found in you which command the approbation of good men. We do not exhort you to preserve a pure and undefiled conscience; of this we do not doubt. But this we desire, that you would be as accommodating to the people as your duty will allow. There are, you know, two kinds of popularity. The one is, when we obtain approbation, by our ambition and desire of pleasing; the other, when by moderation and equity, we entice the minds of others to yield themselves to us with a pleasant docility. Pardon us, if we use too much freedom with you, on this point, we perceive that you do not fully satisfy the virtuous. If in nothing else, you transgress in this, that you do not satisfy those to whom the Lord has made you a debtor. You know how much we respect, how much we love you. This love and this respect impel us to censure you with this exact and rigid severity. We ardently desire, that those excellent gifts, which the Lord has bestowed upon you, may not be sullied by a single blemish, which may afford a handle to the carplings of malevolence, to injure your influence. I have written

these things by the advice of Viret, and for this reason have used the plural number. Farewell, dearest and excellent brother.

Geneva, 16th Sept. 1541.

LETTER VII.—CALVIN TO FAREL.

I was prepared to detail to you at large the state of our affairs ; but when I was informed that our good father Capito, of sacred memory, was taken from us, and that Bucer was sick with the plague, my mind was so shocked that I can now only weep. You know it was always resolved, that if I returned to Geneva, you should return with me; that our united ministry might be restored. Your troubles, at that time, prevented you from leaving Neufchatel. It is now, however, the interest of our common ministry, and of the whole church, that you should come to this city. You must do it, if for no other reason but to fulfil your promise to me. Your pretext for declining, that you was banished by the people and could not be recalled by the senate, displeases me. You call that seditious faction of abandoned men, the people ; and is it not enough that the people themselves, by their decree, pronounced your banishment unjust? It is certain, that most of those who banished you have either suffered an ignominious death, or have fled from the city ; and the rest are either ashamed to say any thing, or openly confess their fault. Was not that a decree of the people, by which they unanimously confessed our innocence? It was my intention on entering the city, to have asserted that we were innocent ; and although I do not excel in oratory, to have defended our cause. But when the people came to meet me, condemning themselves, and confessing their fault, I perceived that it would be useless, ungenerous, and inhuman, as I should only be insulting our prostrate enemies, condemned of God, of men, and of their own conscience.

Will you continue to urge your scruples about the people's recall, when you are told, that when they decreed, that those who were banished should be recalled, the question was put in this form, *Do you not confess that injustice was done to Farel and his associates?* Will you require more than this, that the people condemn themselves, and acquit you? It was added, Will ye, that Farel and his associates, &c.? Shall I not ascribe (forgive me, my brother, if I err) your scrupulous difficulties to moroseness, rather than sound judgment? I know your sincerity—how little you regard yourself; but others, less acquainted with you, may suspect your motives, and make a handle of it for detraction. I do not pretend, that the church has made satisfaction, proportioned to its offence. But if you saw how tender every thing is here, you would yourself agree to press this matter no farther at present. I entreat you, my Farel, to yield to the counsel of those who are prudently solicitous for the honour of your ministry. Give up, if not to our judgment, at least to the entreaties of your friends. Farewell, best and beloved brother.

Geneva, Nov. 29, 1541.



LETTER VIII.—CALVIN TO FAREL.

The numerous deaths, which have occurred this year among my pious friends, I hope will instruct me in the emptiness of this present life; and impress me, in the midst of my sorrow, with holy meditations concerning my own mortality. Poralis, the first syndic of this city, has departed to be with the Lord. His death, as was to be expected, is severely felt, and deeply lamented by us. His dying testimony was a source of consolation, while the very circumstance of his piety increased our grief; as we felt his loss to be, on that account, a more extensive deprivation. The day after he fell sick, Viret and myself were with him, and he

informed us that he was in danger of losing his life ; for the disease with which he was afflicted was fatal to his family. We conversed on a variety of subjects, in which he interested himself with as much familiarity as if in usual health. The two following days, his complaint increased, but in no period of his life, had he discovered more strength of mind, or greater powers of eloquence, than at this time, while he addressed those who visited him with some excellent exhortations, adapted to the character and circumstances of each individual. He now appeared to be much better, and we entertained hopes of his recovery. But after three days, the disease renewed its severity, and he was evidently in great danger ; but as his body was oppressed, his mind grew more enlarged and animated. I pass the intermediate time, to the day on which he died. Viret and myself visited him about nine o'clock in the morning, I said a few things concerning the cross, the grace of Christ, and the hope of eternal life, for we would not fatigue him with a long discourse. He answered, that he knew how to accept the messenger of God in a proper manner, and of what importance the ministry of Christ was in confirming the consciences of believers. He then discoursed upon the ministry and its use so powerfully, that we were both struck with astonishment, and as often as I reflect upon it, I am still confounded ; for he appeared to be delivering some of our discourses improved by his own deep and long meditations. He concluded by saying, that he believed the remission of sins, of which we assured him from the promise of Christ, with as much confidence as though an angel should appear to him from heaven. He then enlarged upon the harmony of the members of the church, which he commended with the highest eulogy ; testifying that his best consolations, in the warfare of death, were drawn from his being established so fully in that unity. He had, a little time before, called for some of our colleagues, with whom he became reconciled, lest by persisting in this disagreement, others might make a bad use of his ex-

ample. He observed to us, "As the welfare of the church obliges you to bear with them as brethren, why should I not, for the same reason, acknowledge them as pastors?" He admonished them with seriousness, and called up to their remembrance the sins of which they had been guilty. But I come to his last words. Turning to those who were present, he exhorted them, that they should hold in high estimation the communion of the church, and advised those who were still addicted to superstitious ceremonies and festivals, to lay aside their obstinacy, and unite with us in the worship of God; for we saw better, and judged more perfectly than they could in these matters. He confessed, that he himself had been obstinate in these things, but at last his eyes were opened to see the baneful effects of contention. After this, he summed up his faith in a short, solemn, and clear confession. He then exhorted Viret and myself to constancy in all the parts of our official duty, and, as in a prophetic vision, he spoke of our future difficulties. Concerning the interests of the republic, his counsel was judiciously directed to whatever related to its prosperity. He urged the most diligent attention to be given, to effect a reconciliation with the allied cities; and that the clamours of some turbulent people should not discourage us in our efforts. After addressing a few words to him, we prayed with him and retired. About two in the afternoon, my wife visited him, when he exhorted her to be of good courage, whatever might happen, and to consider that she was led to this city not rashly, but by the wonderful wisdom of God, to assist in spreading the gospel. He soon after said, that his voice began to fail him; that however that might fail him, he should retain in his mind, and die in the confession of faith that he had made. He recited the song of Simeon, and applied it to himself, saying, "I have seen and embraced thy salvation;" and then composed himself to rest. From this time he was deprived of his voice, but continued to indicate by signs, that he had lost nothing of the vigour of his mind. About four in the after-

noon, I went with the syndics to visit him. As he sometimes attempted to speak, and was unable, I requested him not to fatigue himself, adding that we were abundantly satisfied with his confession. I then began to speak as well as I could. He heard with a composed and tranquil mind. We had scarcely left him, when he rendered up his pious soul to the Lord Jesus Christ. This narration will be scarcely credible to you, when you consider the nature of the man; but remember that he was endowed entirely with a new spirit.

We are now deeply occupied in choosing new colleagues; and our trouble is increased, as those whom we suppose fit for the place, upon trial, disappoint our expectations. We will inform you of our progress, as your advice may be useful to us. Farewell.

June 16, 1542.

LETTER VIII.—CALVIN TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
CHURCH OF MONTBELLIARD.

(ABRIDGED.)

Your two brethren having stated to me the points of doubt or controversy which exist among you, I will simply and briefly expose to you what I should do, were I in your situation. That those persons, who wish to partake of the Lord's Supper, should present themselves to the minister for a previous examination, is a matter so clear to me, that I think every one should do it of choice, as a means of supporting the purity and discipline of the church. But to avoid all difficulty, some limits should be prescribed, and the method of proceeding defined. 1. Let it be in a degree a private examination, to teach the ignorant in a familiar way. 2. Let it be an opportunity for advising and reproving those who are wanting in their duty. 3. Let the minister endea-

your to strengthen the weak in faith, and encourage those who are of a tender conscience. Concerning the Supper, it is my opinion, that we should adopt the custom of administering it to the sick, when circumstances will admit it to be done with propriety; and also to criminals under sentence of death, when they request it, and are sufficiently qualified; but by this rule, that it be a true communion,—that is, that the bread be broken in a meeting of believers. It would be improper to celebrate the Supper in an ordinary meeting, merely at the request of one person. Do not indulge a too frequent use of it in this way, lest those should pretend a necessity for it, who are able to come into the public assembly. To permit midwives to baptize is an impious and sacrilegious profanation of baptism. Therefore, I think that this practice ought not only to be resisted, but if the prince should urge the point to extremes, you ought to resist even unto death, rather than consent to sanction this intolerable superstition. In burials of the dead, I would wish this to be observed, that the body, instead of being carried to the place of worship, be conveyed directly to the place of burial; and that the exhortation should there be given to all the attendants of the funeral. As to the ringing of the bell,* I would not advise you to be very tenacious in your opposition, if the prince cannot be persuaded to abolish it, as it is not worth contending about. I would not have you oppose every festival, but insist on the abolition of those which carry the most decided marks of superstition, without any tendency to edification. In this manner you will have a plausible reason for your objections. I wish you

* Mabillon says, it was an ancient custom to ring the bells for persons about to expire, to advertise the people to pray for them; whence was derived the passing-bells, the use of which was connected with other superstitions; as was the bell at the festivals, masses, &c. See Rees' Cyclopædia, Art. Bell and Funeral.

not to show yourself obstinate and morose; for when the prince sees your moderation, he will be more inclined to yield in some measure, if he finds that you do not oppose them all nor without reason. I entirely agree with you, as to the danger of varying from those forms which are commonly used in our churches; but as we have not yet arrived to that perfection, which we anticipate, and towards which we hope we are advancing, you need not hesitate to admit some of those rites, which you can neither wholly approve, nor totally abolish. Yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

Geneva, October 7, 1543.



LETTER IX.—CALVIN TO THE MINISTERS OF NEUF-CHATEL.

The love of God, the peace of Christ and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be multiplied unto you always, brethren beloved in the Lord.

When our brother Enard brought your *Articles, concerning the administration of discipline among ministers, and also the objections of a certain brother to those articles*, there was no one of us who did not judge, that an answer ought to be given to each with all readiness. But as we were not all present, we deferred it to this day's meeting. The business being proposed, we all agreed, with one consent, to the following answer: When ministers have occasion for any special discipline among themselves, the inquiry is not to be, after what manner we may live, without established rules in the Church; but that management and order are to be pursued, which are adapted to retain us in our office, and to serve for edification. The affairs of men are never so well established, as that any thing is found perfect. To this point, however, we ought always to aim, that with one con-

sent, and by united exertions, we may promote, as much as possible, the design for which the Church was instituted.

In this state of infirmity, it cannot be but that some things will be wanting in us, concerning which it is useful and proper that we should be admonished. In some ministers, particular faults are to be corrected: others are to be warned before hand, when we see them in danger, lest they fall into imprudences: some are to be excited to greater zeal: others must be checked in their impetuosity: and concerning others, we must make inquiry, when any unfavourable and yet doubtful report about them goes abroad. Again, it is asked, "Whether, in general, it is necessary, that the individual delinquent should be admonished privately by each of the other ministers? Or whether it may sometimes be expedient, that a deliberation be held among them, and the admonition be given by the whole meeting?" It often happens, that we ought to be admonished by a number together, about that concerning which no individual can with propriety admonish us. *Exempli gratia*, as it was just stated, a rumour is raised, or some complaints spread about some brother: the neighbours know it. It cannot be met with a better remedy, than that the ministers, having consulted among themselves, advise or admonish him concerning whom the reports or complaints are made. If he is unjustly criminated, they will thus provide, that the reports spread no further; but if true, he ought not to be admonished by one only, but to be corrected by the meeting of his brethren. Take another example: there shall be something in a brother, which shall *displease* some others, either of the common members, or of his colleagues. Here the question is changed: whether that which is a *deficiency* is to be treated as a fault, and corrected? In this case, the principal points being compared, a judgment must be formed. Cases of this kind are daily occurring. To these the provincial Synods had some respect, which were formerly held twice a year. In those synods, when they en-

tered on the consideration of doctrine, then the complaints were heard concerning the faults of any one, and the order of discipline was exercised towards the individual. Your institution, therefore, such as you have described, we judge to be sacred and lawful. It is certainly with propriety, that we approve of that order and discipline in your Church, which we ourselves have used as good and salutary. Only let us first use (in our *Censura Morum*) equity and candour; and also prudence and moderation. When we require candour and equity, we understand this, that no one shall labour, with a malignant mind, to throw spots on the character of his brother. By prudence and moderation we understand, that no one shall make known a secret fault, by which any disgrace may be affixed upon his brother; neither shall things of *small consequence, levicula*, be exaggerated, with immoderate severity. If at any time it should happen, that those things are made public, from the moroseness or officiousness of brethren, which ought to be kept secret; or if from a censorious disposition in any one, private faults are published; those reporters or informers should by no means be heard; but they should be severely repressed and discountenanced. That the procedure may be safe in those difficulties, which arise in the administration of discipline, it is useful that a previous discourse be faithfully delivered, concerning those things which are to be strictly observed, by all those who would not turn the salubrious medicine of discipline into poison. We should immediately and constantly from the beginning admonish them, that if there are any secret grudges, they should be openly acknowledged: that when one brother is offended with another, it is his duty to expostulate with him, before he proceeds to charge him with a crime, so that he may not confound those two distinct duties. These precautions in discipline, as much as possible, are to be taken at the threshold, so that the door of contention may be closed, lest any creep in craftily; and if they should peradventure overreach, in this way, their

progress must be stopped. The discipline of the church is not only of divine authority, but we find, by experience, that it is necessary, and by no means to be neglected or omitted.

Moreover, we beseech that brother in the Lord, who has hitherto dissented from you, as to your order of discipline, that he contend no further in his pertinacious objections. He should remember, among other things, what Paul requires in a pastor, and this is not to be accounted the last, that he be not *αυθαδης*, that is, that he be not *self-willed*. This also is one of the special virtues of a good pastor, that he so abhor, with his whole heart, contentions, as never to differ from his brethren, unless in cases of the most imperious necessity. Take care also, lest those who hear this observation of ours should suspect him of being zealous of strife, or of opposing your articles from his hatred of discipline; for we would by no means load him with this reproach, or attach to him at all the disposition of being *self-willed*. We speak these things, therefore, with the utmost simplicity, because we desire to consult his honour and benefit. As much as appertains to his objections, by which he has endeavoured to overthrow your articles of discipline, we shall only say, with his permission, that when he calls the *brotherly correction* an act of charity, from the exercise of which no one is to be excluded, he appears to us not to have noticed that which in the first place was necessary to be known, that there are many kinds of brotherly correction. We will omit others, and observe only this about which is the controversy, as this has its proper and distinct consideration. It is one article of ecclesiastical polity. It should not, therefore, be confounded with that general correction of morals, which is indifferently committed to all. We do not, therefore, concede to him, that it is a simple and common act of charity or love; forasmuch as there is a judicial board, instituted for the purpose of order and discipline, which has the edification of the church alone for its object. *Neque etiam concedimus neminem ab ejus obligatione eximi. Nor*

do we concede, that any one is deprived of his privilege, or exempted from his obligation. Although this manner of speaking is ambiguous, as it may be taken passively or actively, yet in either way, we deny that all are bound by this article, which is specially designed for ministers. For as those laws, which respect the order of holding the Senate, do not bind the common people; so it is agreed, that we observe among ourselves the discipline to which ministers alone are subject.

What the objector has included in the same proposition, "That *brotherly correction* is supported by the precept of God;" if he understands, that any correction of that kind is contained expressly in the word of God, this we by no means concede to him. *Substantiam ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ exprimit disertis verbis scriptura: forma autem ejus exercendæ quoniam à Domino præscripta non est, à ministris constitui debet pro edificatione.* The scriptures express the substance of ecclesiastical discipline in plain words; but the form of exercising it, since it is not prescribed by the Lord, ought to be determined by the ministers for edification. For which reason we also deny, that the emendation of delinquents is only to be regarded in disciplinary proceedings, for respect is, at the same time, to be had to public order and common edification. On this subject we may take an example from the Scriptures: When Paul came to Jerusalem, he was advised by James and the Elders, as he had been evilly reported among the Jews, that he should purify himself in like manner and together with them. Now it is not to be doubted, but that a deliberation among the Elders preceded this advice; and that this consultation was held, Paul not being present. But why was this? Because, indeed, the question concerned not Paul merely, but the general interest and common edification of the Church. In like manner, when the brethren reprehended Peter, because he had turned to the Gentiles, we do not read that any thing was said to him privately by any individual; because the matter was pub-

licly known to many, it was proper, therefore, that the Elders should admonish him among themselves. And although Peter was unjustly accused in this case, we do not, however, read, that the Elders erred *in the manner* of their dealing with him; the error was only in the cause itself; for they pursued the usual and ordinary method of discipline.

The precept of Christ, which we have in Matthew xviii., we receive concerning secret faults, according to the express meaning of the words. Therefore, if a brother offend in any thing, you knowing it, and there being no other witness, Christ commands you to go to him in private; although he does not forbid but that you should do the same in a case where there are others who equally know the facts with yourself. This should be done, as though you were ignorant that others knew it; and on the ground that you do not think it expedient to accuse him in the presence of other persons. Christ adds, if you effect nothing in this way, take with you two or three witnesses. This, in our judgment, is not to be understood of the witnesses of the fault, but of the admonition; that by this means it may have more weight. This, however, has nothing to do with the point of preventing the exercise of discipline, about which the controversy now is. Besides it is not now debated, whether secret faults are to be publicly exposed; but our inquiry is, what those things are which only beget some small offence, or which are not much removed from occasioning offence. Of this kind we have an example in the reprehension of Peter. For neither did Paul refuse witnesses, that he might admonish Peter privately, but he did it before the Church. Nor yet was the matter known to all; but because danger threatened, he would be before-hand and prevent it.

The fifth proposition of the objector, we cannot receive without exception; for it declares, "that we are proceeding correctly, even when we admonish a Presbyter privately who is labouring under a notorious sin." But Paul, in the text where he forbids an accusation to be received against Elders,

unless before proper witnesses, would on the other hand have *peccantes Presbyterios, offending Presbyters* admonished before all, that others also might fear. If it is sometimes a duty to admonish offenders publicly, even Presbyters, for whom a greater respect is to be had, and it obtains for an example, it certainly cannot be correctly and prudently done, that any one should abstain from such reprehension. What shall we say more? We judge that we have given all the counsel, which the time allows, or the case requires. But these two things are to be always regarded, the first, that offenders be not discouraged, through too much severity: and the other, that offences be not connived at by us. We wonder why that brother added the sixth proposition, for it is sufficiently evident from the term Church, in the words of Christ, that he properly designated that Church of which he himself was a member, and whose obstinacy he had denounced. But here two things are to be observed; First, that when the obstinacy of a stubborn offender is published before one Church, and he contemptuously leaves that Church and migrates to another, he shall be denounced in this also. The ancient Canons determine this, when they prohibit a stranger to be received to communion, unless he shall produce a testimony. For where is the communion of the Church, if when condemned by one he is received by another? Where is the discipline, if he who despises one Church may migrate to another, and carry such pride with him with impunity? The other point to be observed is, that those whom we esteem to be Ministers of one Church *qui in unum collegium adunati, who are united in one association*, should constitute one body. *Quorsum enim Decanus, quorsum alia omnia, nisi tanquam unius corporis membra inter nos coalescamus? For what purpose is a Leader, or Moderator, for what purpose all other things, unless, as members of one body, we are united among ourselves?*

We trust that the author of the propositions will receive in good part what we have written in sincerity. It is the

duty of us all, not only to yield to the truth, but to receive it willingly, with extended hands, when it comes in our way. Farewell, dear brethren in the Lord. May the Lord multiply unto you daily the spirit of wisdom and prudence, for the edification of his Church, and may he render your ministry extensively fruitful.

JOHN CALVIN,

in the name of all the brethren.

Geneva, from our meeting, Nov. 7, 1544.

LETTER X.—CALVIN TO THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

I have received a letter from a certain person, which he says was written by him at your request. By this letter I perceive, that you do not approve of the book which I published against the Libertines. It would grieve me extremely to occasion you sorrow, unless it might tend to your salvation. *That sorrow is not to be repented of*, as says the apostle, *the cause of which ought to lead any one to repentance*. However, I can hardly conceive, why this book has excited so much dissatisfaction. He who wrote to me says the cause of the offence was, that the book was written against you and your household. As it respects you, I never even thought of attacking your name, or of diminishing that respect which all pious persons owe you; not to mention the royal dignity to which the Lord has raised you, the illustrious family from which you descended, and finally the summit of supreme nobility, which renders you conspicuous in the world. All who know me are witnesses, how much I am a stranger to that incivility, that would despise earthly powers and principalities, and whatever else appertains to civil government. I am by no means ignorant of those qualifications with which God has endowed you; and how extensively he has used your labours in the defence of his kingdom. These things afford me a substantial reason for respecting you and defend-

ing your name. I wish you to persuade yourself, that those persons, who are endeavouring to excite your resentment against me, are neither influenced by a regard for you, nor any personal hatred to me; but are in this way taking the opportunity to withdraw you from the sincere love which you have manifested towards the Church of God; and thus to alienate your affections by degrees from the solicitude with which you have hitherto worshipped Christ our Lord, and protected his members. As to your household, I do not suppose you can imagine your house to be more dignified than that of the Lord Jesus Christ, in whose family there was one who deserved the name of a devil; a servant who sat at his own table, and was raised to the honour of being appointed one of the ambassadors of the Son of God. I was not, however, so inconsiderate as to designate your house, at the time when I expressed the truth on that subject, as in the presence of God, nor did I even hint that those whom I mentioned pertained, in any respect, to your family. It may now be inquired, whether from motives of mere self-gratification, I treated of those persons in my discourse; or whether I was influenced by weighty and just reasons, and as from mere necessity, to notice them as I did? When you possess the whole truth of this matter, I am persuaded, that you will judge me not only excusable, but that my candour deserves your commendation. Concerning this sect, I am decidedly of the opinion, that there is nothing among men more pernicious and abominable. It is a burning torch, by which all things will be immediately enkindled and consumed. It is a most powerful contagion, by which every thing will be infected, unless some remedy is at once applied to arrest its progress. Now as I am called of God to this office, my conscience impels me to resist this pressing evil with all my strength. Besides, I am called upon daily, by many pious persons, who have not ceased to implore my assistance, complaining that almost all the Netherlands were beset with that evil; and saying that I should

at least exert myself to apply a remedy. Notwithstanding these excitements, I restrained myself a whole year, hoping that the evil would sicken, and silently die away of itself.— If any one objects, that it would have been sufficient for me to write against their opinions, and spare their persons, I have a reasonable excuse. When I understood how much hurt *Anthony Poquet* was doing in Artois, Hainault and the neighbourhood, and from persons worthy of full credit; and when I was personally knowing that *Quintin* was wholly engaged in winning over the simple and the credulous to that irrational sect, and that these men were incessantly labouring to destroy the true doctrine, to plunge wretched souls into perdition, and to carry a contempt of God through the whole earth; I put the question to you for decision, whether I could honestly have concealed these men? A dog, if any one attacks his master, will at least attempt to frighten him by barking. Who would excuse me, if, when I hear the truth of God assailed, I should suffer my mouth to remain closed? I do not believe that you expect me, in order to please you, to prevaricate in the defence of the gospel, which is committed to me. Do not, then, I beseech you, take it amiss, if in the discharge of my duty, being compelled by the fear of God, I have not spared one of your household, since I have offered nothing which might in the least affect your reputation. What the author of the letter says in your name, that such servants as I am will not be very acceptable to you, I judge the same of myself, and acknowledge that I cannot be of any great service to you; for neither have I the ability, nor you the occasion of my personal assistance. But yet a partiality of mind towards you is not wanting, nor will I, while I live, by the grace of God, be otherwise affected towards you. Should you even be averse to my respect, that will not change my disposition or affection towards you. As to other things, every one who knows me can testify how far my disposition is from seeking access to princes, and from being excited by a love

of such honours. Perhaps, if I had sought them, I should not have succeeded in obtaining them. I have reason to thank God, that my mind is wholly free from that desire.— I am abundantly satisfied, that I am in the service of that Divine Master, who has admitted and retained me in his family, and entrusted me with that office, which with him is of so much weight, however it may be accounted vile and despicable in the eyes of men. I should be the most ungrateful of all mortals, if I did not prefer this my condition to all the honours and riches of the world. As to the inconstancy of which you accuse me, I assure you, confidently, that you have been imposed upon. I have, indeed, never been brought to this trial, that any one should demand of me *a confession of my faith*. Should it be demanded of me, I have no such confidence in myself that I dare boast; but I am confident, that as God formerly supported me, so that I did not fear to defend his word, *in the name of another*,* even at the hazard of my life, so in like manner he will reach out the hand of protection to me, whenever his name may be glorified by my *confession*. By divine favour, I have been so consistent with myself, that no one can accuse me of a direct or indirect denial or recantation of the truth, which I have supported. And what is still more than that, it was always in my view an awful madness, which could induce any one to deny Christ, to preserve his life or estate; and such were my feelings on that occasion, when I was in France, as I am able to prove by appropriate witnesses. That it may appear more evident that those, who have endeavoured to injure me in your estimation, have basely abused your generous disposition, I will name to you, as a witness, Cle-

* This undoubtedly refers to the sermon which Cop, the Rector of the University of Paris, preached on All Saints' day, which it is said Calvin composed in part at least. It was the danger to which Calvin was then exposed, that brought him first acquainted with the Queen.

racus, from whom you may most certainly ascertain the extreme falsehood of the calumny, which has been invented against me, and which is insufferable, as by it the name of God may be blasphemed. In myself, I am indeed nothing; but since God has been pleased to use me as an instrument in building up his Church, I see, as well as others, how injurious would be the consequences of that reproach, if credited against me, and how it would prevail to the disgrace of the gospel. Blessed be the Lord, who has not permitted satan to contend against me to that degree, but that he has supported me in my infirmity; and never suffered me to be arraigned for the utmost trial of my faith, nor proved my integrity by chains. I would wish your pardon for the shortness of my letter, and a certain perturbation which affects me; for as soon as I received your letter I immediately began this answer, that I might, to your satisfaction, remove the offence; and induce you to continue your protection and benevolence towards the pious, according to your former munificence. May the Lord Jesus Christ protect you by his shield, and direct you by his Spirit, to pursue his vocation, even unto death, with a sincere zeal and prudence.

Your most humble and devoted servant,

JOHN CALVIN.

April 20, 1545.

LETTER XI.—CALVIN TO MELANCTHON,

WISHES HEALTH.

I will briefly mention for what reason this noble and pious youth has undertaken, at my request, this visit to you. I published a small book in the vulgar tongue, in which I reproved the hypocrisy of those who, although enlightened by the true gospel, still continued to attend the service of the Papists, which they know to be full of sacrilege and

anathema. You would wish me, perhaps, to moderate something of this precise severity. But what just occasion I had for this you will be able to judge, when you have weighed and well considered the subject. Perceiving that many complained of my severity, especially those who appeared to grow wise in their own opinion, in proportion as they took more diligent care to preserve their lives; I composed an *Apology*, which wounded their sensibility more painfully than the former treatise. Many, who esteem religion only as they do philosophy, affect severely to despise my reproof. All those, however, who seriously fear God, have at least advanced so far in knowledge, as to begin to be dissatisfied with themselves. But as the question appears to them perplexed, they still hang in doubt until they shall be confirmed by your authority, and that of Luther. I apprehend that they consult you, because they hope that your opinion will be more agreeable to their wishes. But whatever may be their intentions, as I am persuaded, that from your singular prudence and sincerity, you will faithfully give them salutary counsel, I readily, according to their request, engaged to send a man to you on this business. But as I considered it to be a matter of consequence, that you should know my opinion, and the reasons which induced me to embrace it, I immediately translated *the two books* into the Latin tongue. And although I may appear to have done this improperly, yet I ask you, by our mutual friendship, not to refuse the trouble of reading them. Your judgment, as it ought to be, is of such weight with me, that it would give me great unhappiness to undertake to defend that on this subject which you could by no means approve. I know, indeed, that from your great moderation, you allow many things to others, which you would not permit to yourself. We must, however, inquire, what is lawful for us? lest we loosen where the Lord binds. I do not ask you to agree with me; that would be too great effrontery; or to depart, on my account, from the free and plain exposition of

your opinion. All I ask is, that you would not neglect the perusal of the books. Indeed, I wish that we so entirely agreed, that there should not be even the appearance of a disagreement in a single word. It is your duty to precede me, rather than have any regard to what might meet my approbation. You see how familiarly I address you, nor am I at all anxious lest it should exceed the limits of friendship; for I well understand how much freedom is permitted me, from your singular good will towards me. I apprehend there will be somewhat more difficulty in treating with Luther. As far as I learn from reports, and the letters of some of my friends, the mind of that man, being as yet scarcely pacified, will be fretted by the most trifling cause. On this account, the letter which I have written to him the messenger will show to you; so that, after perusing it, you can regulate the whole business according to your own prudence. You will provide, therefore, that nothing is attempted rashly, and without due consideration, that may have an unfavourable termination; which I am confident you will faithfully accomplish, by your uncommon address.

I have not been able as yet fully to ascertain what controversies are agitated among you in Germany, nor what has been their issue; excepting that an atrocious libel has been published, which, like a fire-brand, will enkindle fresh flames, unless the Lord, on the other hand, restrain their minds, already, as you know, beyond measure heated. But for what, and why are these controversies excited? When I consider how ill-timed these intestine controversies are, I am almost lifeless with grief. A merchant of Nuremberg, passing through this city, lately showed me an apology of *Osiander*, which greatly mortified me for his sake. For what purpose could it answer, to abuse *the Zuinglians*, with foul language, at every third line; to treat with so much inhumanity Zuinglius himself; and not, indeed, even to spare that holy servant of God, *Ecolampadius*, whose meekness I wish he would half imitate? *Osiander* would, in that case,

be far higher in my estimation. I do not, by any means, ask him to suffer in silence his reputation to be traduced with impunity. I only wish he would abstain from reproaching those men, whose memory ought to be honoured by every pious person. While I am displeased with the petulance of the writer, by whose mournful ditties he complains that he has been defamed; I lament his want of moderation, discernment, and discretion. How great is the pleasure which we are affording to the papists, as if we were devoting our labours to their cause! But I shall unreasonably increase your sorrow, by the recital of evils which you cannot remedy. *Let us mourn then, since it becomes us to be afflicted with the troubles of the church; but let us still sustain ourselves with this hope, that although we are oppressed and tossed by these mighty waters, we shall not be overwhelmed.*

All the brethren in France have their minds much elevated in the strong expectation of a council. There is no doubt but that the king himself, at least in the beginning, had a desire and determination to convoke one. For cardinal Tournon, on his return from the emperor, persuaded Francis that Charles had the same intention. At the same time, he advised the king, in the name of the emperor, to send for two or three of you to meet him; hoping that by flattery, or by some other means, he might extort from you separately, what he could not obtain from you in a council. The emperor promised that he would pursue the same course. This was their object, that you being bound by previous declarations to them, would be less able to vindicate the cause, when you should come to serious disputation in the assembly. Having despaired of conquering us, by an open and correct management of the cause, they see no shorter and surer method of succeeding, than by keeping the princes in fear of punishment; that they may hold their liberty, as if conquered and bound, in subserviency to their purposes. As this advice pleased the king, Castellanus refused to allow

the French divines to dispute with you, unless they should be first well instructed and prepared. You were men accustomed to this kind of battle, and could not be so easily overcome. They must take care lest the king be betrayed through the ignorance of his divines, and expose his whole kingdom to ridicule. The ambition of the king gave the preference to this advice. Twelve were elected to dispute at Melun, on the various controverted points, and were ordered to refer their decisions to the king. They promised, under oath, to keep the transactions in silence. But I certainly know, though they be silent, that they aim entirely at suppressing the truth; and however they dissemble, as though they were seeking some kind of reformation, it is unquestionably a fact, that they are agitating this one point alone: How the light of the true doctrine may be buried, and their own tyranny established. I am persuaded that the advice of cardinal Tournon was providentially frustrated; lest some of our brethren, unguarded and unsuspecting, should be ensnared. You remember that the same artifices were made use of against you by Bellai. But if we turn unto the Lord, all their assaults and machinations will be vain. Farewell, most excellent man and respected friend. May the Lord be always present with you, and long preserve you in health for his church. Yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

January 18, 1545.

[The following letter is on the same general subject with a part of the preceding; and is therefore here inserted in connection with that.]

CALVIN TO MELANCTHON.

I wish that my sympathy in your grief, while it distresses me, might in some measure relieve you. If the fact is as the brethren of Zurich say, they certainly had a just cause

for writing. With what rashness your *Pericles* (Osiander,) continues to thunder? Especially as his cause is only the worse for it. We all owe much to him, I confess; and I should be willing to have him possess the chief magistracy, if he only knew how to govern himself. We must, however, always take heed, in the church, how much deference we pay to men. The work is done, when any one has more power than all the rest; especially, if this one has nothing to check him in making all possible experiments. In the present deranged state of things, we perceive how difficult it is to quiet the disturbances. If we all, however, exercised that disposition which ought to guide us, some remedy perhaps might be found. We are certainly transmitting to posterity a pernicious example, by consenting to abandon our liberty, rather than to disquiet the mind of one man with some trifling mortification. His passions are vehement, and he is subject to violent paroxysms. He also boasts of this vehemency, in proportion as we all indulge him, and suffer every thing from him. If this example of insolent domination manifests itself, at the very opening of the reformation of the church, what will shortly take place, when things shall have fallen into a still worse condition? Let us weep, therefore, for the calamity of the church; let us not suppress our grief in our own breasts; but venture at length to give our lamentations a free circulation. What if you were, by the permission of God, reduced to the extreme necessity of having extorted from you, a fuller confession concerning this subject? I acknowledge, indeed, that what you teach is perfectly true; and that, by your mild manner of teaching, you have endeavoured hitherto to recall others from contention; and I commend your prudence and moderation. But while you avoid this subject, (consubstantiation,) as some dangerous rock, lest you incur the displeasure of some, you leave many in suspense and perplexity, who require of you something more decisive, in which they may acquiesce. It is, however, a dishonour to us, as I remember to have said

to you before, that we do not *consignare, ratify*, at least with *ink*, that doctrine, which so many pious persons have delivered to us, *testatam, sealed* with their own blood. Perhaps God will now open to you the way for a full and firm explanation of your mind, on this subject; that those who depend on your authority, whom you know to be very many, may no longer remain in doubt. I do not say this so much to awaken as to console you. For unless I hoped that something of this kind would arise from this turbulent and overbearing insurrection, I should be affected with a grief much more severe. However, we must quietly wait for such a termination as the Lord will please to grant. In the mean time, let us preserve our course with unyielding resolution.

I give you many thanks for your answer, and also for the singular kindness with which you have treated Claudius, as he informs me. From your kind and generous reception of my friends, I am enabled to form an opinion of your disposition towards me. I give sincere thanks to God, that on the chief heads of *that question*, (as stated in the preceding letter,) concerning which we were consulted, our opinions have so entirely agreed. For although there is a very small difference about some particulars, yet as to the substance of the matter, we perfectly coincide.

JOHN CALVIN.

June 28, 1445.

LETTER XIII—J. CALVIN TO THE PROTECTOR OF
ENGLAND.

Although God has endowed you, most noble Lord, for your station, with the fortitude, prudence and other virtues, which the magnitude of the office demands; yet as you acknowledge me to be a servant of his Son, whom you account yourself to prefer before all things else, I have persuaded

myself that you would receive it kindly, that I should write to you in his name. I propose to myself nothing more, than that you should continue to advance his glory, by pursuing the work you have begun, until you have brought his kingdom to the most desirable state, of which it is capable on earth. In perusing this letter you will perceive, that I have produced nothing of my own, but have transcribed from the Scriptures whatever you have here for your benefit. When I consider the singular greatness to which you are raised, I am fully sensible, with how much difficulty, my littleness will find access to you. But as you do not despise the doctrine of that Master to whom I am devoted, and as you consider it a distinguished privilege to be in the number of his disciples, I need not apologize in many words, believing that you are sufficiently prepared to receive whatever manifestly comes from him. We certainly have reason to thank God our Father, that he has been pleased to use your labours, in so great a work, as that of restoring his pure and sincere worship in the kingdom of England; in causing that the doctrine of salvation, chiefly by your means, should be publicly and faithfully announced to all, who will deign to open their ears; in strengthening you, with so great resolution and constancy, to persevere undismayed, through so many difficulties and insults; and that he has hitherto assisted you with his powerful hand, followed with his blessing and prospered your counsels and labours. These are so many arguments with the pious for glorifying his holy name. But seeing that the adversary is perpetually exciting fresh opposition, and that the matter itself is of the most peculiar and difficult undertaking, to allure men, who are by nature addicted to falsehood, to a peaceable submission to the truth of God; and also that there are other causes which delay this progress, especially those deep-rooted superstitions of Antichrist, which are with extreme labour overcome in the minds of many; it appeared to me, that you personally needed to be confirmed by pious exhortations in this so arduous under-

taking; and I doubt not but you have found yourself the benefit of this from experience. I shall on this account be more free and full in my observations. As I hope that my advice will answer your wishes, so I conclude that you will take, in good part, my exhortation; and although it should be unnecessary, yet that the zeal and solicitude which prompted me in this business will meet with your approbation. Moreover, the present perilous situation of affairs, which you yourself acknowledge, furnishes a still stronger reason, why my endeavours should be still more acceptable to you. Wherefore, I intreat you, most noble Lord, to attend patiently to the few remarks which I have determined to submit to your consideration. I hope that, in return for your attention to them, they will afford you that assistance, which will enable you more vigorously to pursue the holy work, for the completion of which God is pleased to use you as an instrument. I doubt not but that those great tumults, which have occurred for some time past, have given you much trouble and anxiety, especially since many took offence, who were provoked in a great measure by the reformation of religion. It cannot be, I say, but that the observation of these things must excite in you various emotions, whether you reflect on your own apprehensions about them, or turn your attention to the clamours of the wicked, or the consternation of the good. This rumour spread to so great a distance deeply affected me, until I understood that assistance from the Lord began to be manifested. But since that fire is not yet extinguished, and it is an easy matter for the adversary again to rekindle it, place before your eyes the memorable example of the pious king Hezekiah, which we have so expressly related to us in the Scriptures. Having abolished the superstitions from Judea, and established the pure worship of God according to his law, he was suddenly overtaken with so oppressive a war, that he was considered by many as lost and ruined beyond recovery. Thus the Scriptures appositely bring those things together, that while

he was wholly engaged in restoring the true worship of God to its place, the issue of his labour was in appearance most unfavourable to him. He evidently had every reason to hope, that while he was so heartily engaged in building up God's kingdom, he should secure the most perfect tranquillity of his own. All pious princes and governors of provinces, should apply this example to themselves, that they may proceed more courageously in abolishing all idolatry, and in procuring lawfully the true worship of God, as their duty demands; and moreover that they may understand that their faith is to be subjected to similar trials through many temptations. Thus the Lord permits, indeed thus he wills, both to manifest their constancy, and prepare them to raise their eyes above this world. In the mean time, the adversary will thrust himself in the way; and though unable openly to destroy the true doctrine, he will not cease to plot its ruin by sophistry and cunning. To this purpose is the admonition of James, that while we observe the endurance of Job, we should consider the end of the Lord. In the same manner terminated the trial of the pious king Hezekiah, with whom the Lord was present, and in his greatest straits gave him, on that account, a far more signal victory. Wherefore, since his hand is not shortened, nor his support of the truth less near his heart than in former ages, you must not despair of his aid, by whatever tempests you may be tossed.

That the greater part of men resist the gospel, and direct all their exertions to prevent its progress, should be no matter of surprise. Such, indeed, has been the unceasing ingratitude of the world, that they turn their backs upon God when he calls them, and kick against him when he purposes to put his yoke upon them. Men, by nature, are enslaved to hypocrisy, and cannot bear to be brought to the light of the gospel, which would reveal their pollution and guilt; nor to be rescued from the darkness of their superstitions, under the shade of which they sleep in quiet repose. It is not a new thing for mankind to make opposition, when the

attempt is made to bring them back to the obedience and worship of God. We should not, therefore, be negligent or timid in the discharge of our duty. For when they have gone to the extremes of disorder, and have exhausted their rage, they are confounded at once, and necessarily fall by their own extravagance. As it respects God, surely all these ragings and foamings of men are held by him in derision, as it is expressed in the second Psalm. Therefore, winking at their outrages, he will be silent, as if he treated the matter with indifference; but at length they will be repressed by his power. Armed with the same power, we shall sustain, by his invincible protection, all the efforts of satan against us; and we shall, in the end, perceive, in every deed, that the gospel, as a messenger of peace, brings reconciliation with God, and tends to establish peace among men, as the Lord testifies by Isaiah. When the kingdom of Christ shall be established by his instruction, *it shall come to pass, that they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks.* Is. ii. 4. In the mean time, although seditions and tumults, excited against the gospel, arise from the wickedness and obstinacy of men, yet it becomes us to look to ourselves, and conclude, that God is thus punishing us for our own sins, although it is evident, that he uses as instruments those who are the very servants of satan. It is an old objection, that the gospel was the cause of all those evils which afflict the human race. And indeed it is evident from history, that from the time in which the Christian religion began to be spread through the world, there was scarcely a corner which was not afflicted with extreme evils. The constant commotions of wars arose like some conflagration, by which all things were consumed; floods prevailing on the one hand, and on the other pestilence and famine; here the end of government, and there the inversion of all order, as if the world, absolutely conspiring against itself, was broken to pieces and dissolved. The same has happened in this age, since the gospel began

to come forth from the darkness with which it was covered. The face of things exhibited a miserable appearance; complaints were every where circulated, that we were born in a most unhappy period; and there were few who did not faint under so great a pressure of difficulties. But while we feel these wounds, we ought to advert to the hand that inflicts them, and to the cause of their infliction; what this is, is by no means obscure, nor difficult to be perceived. It is certain, that the word of God, by which we are led in the way of salvation, is an incomparable treasure. Let us then examine it ourselves, with as much reverence as it is offered to us by its author, and it will be received by us. When that is accounted vile with us, which with him is of great moment, who will not acknowledge, that it is perfectly just with him, to punish in return our ingratitude? Let us hear the declaration of Christ, Luke xii. 47. *That servant which knew his Lord's will and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.* Since therefore we are so negligent in obeying the will of God, the knowledge of which is an hundred fold more abundant with us than in former ages, it should not appear strange, that his indignation should be more vehemently enkindled against us, who of all men are the most inexcusable. And since we do not labour to have the good seed grow and be fruitful, it is just that briars and thorns should be cherished among us by the artifice of the adversary, by the prickings of which we may be vexed. And lastly, as we do not render to the Creator that which is justly due to him from us, it is right that we should experience the obstinacy of men against ourselves.

But to address myself to you more immediately. Most noble Lord, there are, as I understand, two sorts of seditious persons, who have risen up against the King, and the government of the kingdom. Some, who are passionate and hasty, would introduce *αραξια*, *confusion*, every where under the name of the gospel; and others have become so hardened in the superstitions of Antichrist, that they cannot

endure their removal. Both of these classes deserve to be restrained by the civil power, which God has committed to your hands; since they rise up not only against the king, but against God himself, who has placed the king on the throne, and appointed you the protector of his person and majesty. Your first and main object must be to provide, as far as may be, that those who have some relish for the gospel, and have determined to devote themselves to it, may receive it with humility and reverence of mind, renouncing their own wills, and, as their duty requires, giving up themselves entirely to God. For thus it becomes them to consider, that the Lord, by these emergencies would awaken them, that they may profit more seriously by his word than they have hitherto done. Those fanatics, who would wish to change the world into a licentious freedom, are expressly raised up by satan, that through them the gospel may be reproached; as if it were the cause of rebellion against rulers, and introduced into the world unrestrained licentiousness. It is the duty of the pious to mourn the pernicious labours of these wicked men, and patiently implore of the Lord, that he would send that light, which will sooner or later most certainly dissipate this darkness. The Papists, while they labour to defend the filthiness and abominations of their Romish idols, betray more and more their open hatred of the benefits of Christ and all his commandments, which extremely afflicts those who have a particle of pure zeal remaining. Wherefore, let the pious acknowledge, that these things are appointed of God, as so many scourges to chastise them, because they do not bring forth the legitimate fruits of the gospel. Let the principal and only expedient, applied to quiet these commotions, be the true conformity to the image of Christ in those who have professed his name; and so let them testify, that pure Christianity abhors all confusion of every kind. Let them prove, by their uniform modesty and temperance, that they are governed by the word of God, so that they may by no means be

accounted lawless and unruly. Thus will their righteous and holy life shut the mouths of the impious. The Lord, being appeased, will remove the rod of correction, and instead of the punishment which he inflicts on the despisers of his word, he will follow the repentance of his people with the most assured blessing. It becomes the nobility and magistrates especially to be first in giving this example, and foremost in submitting, with fear and reverence, to the yoke of Christ, the Son of God and supreme Lord of all. These, I say, must exhibit the sincere faith and obedience of body and of soul, that He may in return repress the pride and rage of those, who unjustly magnify themselves against their rulers. It is the highest concern of the princes of this age, to govern their subjects in such a manner, as to prove that they are themselves in subjection to Christ, and to give all diligence, that his authority may extend itself over all, from the highest to the lowest. Wherefore, I ask of you, most noble Lord, through Christ himself, and that singular affection with which you embrace the kingdom of your nephew, which is exhibited in a luminous manner, in all your conduct, to exercise all your combined influence and vigilance, that the truth of God may be preached with the fullest authority and efficacy; and that fruits worthy of the celestial seed may be produced. That this may be effected, withhold not your hand from pursuing the full and entire reformation of the Church, which you have begun.

That you may more easily apprehend my thoughts, I will reduce the whole to three heads:—First, concerning the true method of correctly teaching the people. Second, concerning the extirpation of those abuses which have hitherto been retained. Third, concerning the correction of vices most perfectly, and endeavouring to prevent the growth of scandals and luxury, on account of which the name of the Lord is blasphemed. As it respects the first head, there is no occasion that I should dwell long upon the detail of doctrines. Concerning these there is much reason that I should give

thanks to God, by whom you are so illuminated in the knowledge of the pure doctrines, that you take care that these should be publicly taught. You are not, I say, to be taught by me, the faith of Christians, and the doctrines which are maintained by them; since the true faith has been restored and published by you in a meeting of the church. But if any one would have a summary of the worship of God, it may be reduced to this—That we have one God, the governor of our consciences: for the direction of these we must make use of this law alone for the rule of devotion, lest we bring to his worship any of the vain traditions of men: he must moreover be worshipped by all, according to his own nature, with the whole mind and heart. But since there is nothing in us except a miserable corruption, which occupies both our senses and affections, we must acknowledge the entire abyss of iniquity, and dread it when acknowledged. In this manner, having obtained a true knowledge of our state, as being in ourselves broken, wounded, lost, deprived of all dignity and wisdom, and finally of any power to do good, we must at last flee to the Lord Jesus Christ, the only fountain of all blessings, to partake of whatever he offers, and principally that incomparable treasure of his death and passion, by which method alone we may become entirely reconciled to God the Father. Purified by the sprinkling of his blood, we shall be assured that none of those stains will remain in us, which would cover us with shame before his celestial throne. We shall be persuaded of the efficacy of his perpetual sacrifice, by which we have sealed to us the gratuitous remission of sins, and on which we must fasten as the refuge and anchor of salvation. Being sanctified by his Spirit, we shall be consecrated in obedience to the righteousness of God; and confirmed by his grace, we shall come off more than conquerors over satan, the world, and the flesh. Being members of his body, we shall not doubt but that God will number us in the family of his children; and we shall address him with entire confidence

by the legitimate and endearing name of Father. This is the design of the true doctrine, which is ever to be preserved and heard by all in the church of God, that all may sincerely aim at this mark; and that each individual gradually withdrawing himself from the world, may raise himself to Christ his head, who is in heaven, by perseverance, prayer, morals and habits.

But as the Lord has been pleased to spread so abundantly about you his most precious light, which had so long been buried under the darkness of Antichrist, I will add but a few words more. What I have said only pertains to the form of teaching, in order that the proper method of instructing the people may be followed. For example, they must be pricked to the quick, that each one may be sensible of the words of the apostle, *the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow; and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart.* Heb. iv. 12. This, I say, I inculcate more expressly, because I fear that there are but few lively preachers in the kingdom; and that the greater part have recourse, *in recitationis modum, to the method of reading.* I perceive also some cause of that scarcity among you; and as you have not in your power, sound and well qualified pastors, that defect must be supplied in its proper manner. You must also beware of unstable and rash men, who, in a change of things, are carried far beyond all bounds, and prate forth their own dreams for the word of God. Nothing of this kind should hinder the establishment of the institution of Christ for preaching the gospel. The instituted preaching must not be dead, but animated, and effectual for *instruction, exhortation, and reproof*, as the apostle testifies to Timothy, 2 Tim. iii. so that if an unbeliever enter the meeting of the faithful, it should affect him in such a manner that, pierced by the hearing of the word, he may give glory to God, as the same apostle elsewhere shows, 1

Cor. xiv. You cannot be ignorant of what this apostle teaches concerning the power and energy which those should possess, who are desirous to approve themselves, as sound and well qualified ministers of the word. He would have them free from those ornaments, and that species of eloquence, by which men display themselves, for admiration, in the theatre. In their discourses, the power of the Spirit should so lucidly manifest itself, as to act powerfully on the minds of the audience. No precaution should be used, to prevent that Spirit from maintaining its liberty and constant vigour in the ministry of those whom the Lord has endowed with his gifts, for the edification of his church. It is indeed necessary to watch over those unstable and wandering minds, who would take too much liberty to themselves. The door must be shut against curious innovations. The only means to be used for this purpose, is to have a summary of doctrine received by all, which they may follow in preaching. To the observance of this, all bishops and clergy should be bound by oath, that no one might be admitted to the ecclesiastical office, unless he promises to keep inviolate the unity of doctrine. Let there, besides, be published a plain formula or Catechism, for the use of children, and those who may be more ignorant among the people. Thus the truth will be rendered more familiar to them; and at the same time they will learn to distinguish it from impostures and corruptions, which are so apt to creep in by little and little upon the ignorant and careless. It becomes you to be fully persuaded, that the church of God cannot be without a Catechism; for therein the true seed of doctrine is to be contained, from which at length the pure and seasonable harvest will be matured, and from this the seed may be multiplied abundantly. Wherefore, if you expect to build an edifice of this kind, which shall stand long, and be safe from destruction, give all care that each child should be instructed in the faith, by the Catechism published for that purpose; that they may learn briefly, and as their capacities will admit, in

what consists true Christianity. The usefulness of the Catechism will not be confined merely to the instruction of children. The consequence will also be, that the people, being taught by it, will be better prepared to profit by the ordinary preaching of the word; and also if any one puffed up, should introduce any new opinions, he may be detected by an immediate appeal to the rule of the Catechism. As to the formula of prayers and ecclesiastical ceremonies, I very much approve, that a proper one should exist, from which the pastors should not be permitted to vary, in the exercise of their office; and which might consult the simplicity and ignorance of some persons, and also establish a more certain agreement of all the churches among themselves. This would, moreover, put a check upon the instability and levity of those persons who might attempt innovations, and it would have the same tendency as I have before shown the Catechism would have. Thus ought to be established a Catechism, the administration of the sacraments, and the public formula of prayers. But the expediency of this polity in the church must not tend to prevent or diminish, in any manner, the original energy of preaching the gospel. As to this, it is the more incumbent upon you, to provide proper and zealous preachers, who may penetrate the recesses of the heart by the sound of the word of the gospel. For there is danger, that the fruit of the Reformation now begun will be greatly diminished, unless attended with the most efficacious and zealous preaching of the word. It is not in vain said of Christ, *He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.* Is. xi. 4. This is doubtless the true means by which he conquers us, when by the power of his word he destroys and casts out whatever in us is repugnant to his glory. Hence the gospel is called the kingdom of God. Wherefore, though the edicts and civil establishments of Christian princes are of great weight, in promoting and confirming the authority of Christianity, yet God has determined, in an ap-

propriate manner, to exert his special power, by the spiritual sword of his word, which he has committed to the pastors to be handled in the church.

I proceed to the second head, concerning the abolishing and rooting out entirely of the abuses and corruptions, introduced by satan, in former ages, into the church of God. It is evident, that the Christianity of papacy is spurious and counterfeit; and will be condemned in the judgment of God at the last day, as it is so manifestly repugnant to his word. If it is your intention to withdraw the people from this gulph you must follow the example of the apostle. In treating of the restoration of the Lord's Supper to its proper use, he enjoins them to be united in removing those additions which had crept in among them: *I have received*, he says, *of the Lord, that which, also, I delivered unto you.* 1 Cor. xi. 23. Hence we may deduce this general principle, that when we enter upon a lawful reformation, which may be acceptable to God, we must adhere to his pure and uncorrupted word; for all those mixtures, engendered in the human mind, which remain, will be so many manifest pollutions, tending to withdraw men from the right use of those things which God has instituted for their salvation. Religion cannot be said to be restored to its purity, while this sink of pollution is only partially drawn off, and a frightful form of Christianity is embraced for the pure and original faith. I speak thus definitely, as I understand that many think far otherwise; that abuses must be tolerated and untouched, while they would only direct the grossest corruptions to be removed. In opposition to this, experience teaches, that the human mind is a soil fertile in false inventions, and that when sowed even with the smallest grain, as if all its powers combined, it yields an immense increase. The method which the Scripture points out is far different. David, speaking of idols, said, *I will not even take up their names into my lips*, Psal. xvi. 4, that he might show how odious they were to him. When we reflect how grievously we have sinned against God in this

manner, by remaining in ignorance, we ought to be the more deeply impressed, with the necessity of removing our standing as far as possible from all the fermentations of satan. What else were all those ceremonies, but so many allurements to entice and ensnare the miserable souls of men in evil, as if they were established for this very purpose? When we speak concerning caution, men must certainly be admonished, lest they dash against those rocks which the sins of their past life have, in this respect, disclosed to them. Who does not see, unless wholly hardened, that nothing can be obtained by this unhappy caution? Whatever of this nature is left untouched will operate like a strong leaven, to confirm them more resolutely in the evil, and serve as an interposing veil, to prevent the reception of the proposed doctrines, according to their purity and importance. I confess readily, that there should be moderation; and that extremes in reforming ceremonies would not be useful. Nor is too much simplicity to be adopted, as the order of worship is to be accommodated to the benefit and capacity of the people. But I am not less decided in affirming, that strict attention is to be given, lest, under this pretext of expediency, any of the inventions of satan or antichrist should be tolerated. Those expressions of Scripture, in the history of many of the Kings of Judah, are here in point, *That when they took away the idols, they did not cut them off wholly by the roots.* They were condemned because they did not altogether destroy those high places, which we should call chapels, dedicated to their foolish devotions.

Since, therefore, most noble lord, God has conducted you thus far, endeavour, I beseech you, to deserve the name of the reformer of his true church; and to render this age, under the king, your nephew, correspondent to the age of the most pious Josiah. Take heed to have every thing in religion established in its proper place, so that the king may have no other solicitude but to preserve the well regulated order. I will produce one example of those corruptions

which, like leaven, will, in some measure, sour the whole service of the Lord's Supper. I understand that with you, in the celebration of the Eucharist, *prayers for the dead are recited*. I am not however sufficiently informed, that this is designed as an approbation of the Popish purgatory. Nor am I ignorant, that the ancient custom of making mention of the dead, to declare the communion of all believers in one body, may be adduced as a vindication of it. But this invincible argument remains, that the Supper of the Lord is so wholly an ordinance that it is a crime to pollute it by any additions of men. Besides, when we call upon God, we are not to indulge our own passions, but to follow the rule of the Apostle, *that the word of God be our foundation*. Rom. x. But that commemoration of the dead, which embraces a veneration or commendation of them, does not correctly answer to the true and legitimate institution of prayer; and is therefore an *assumentum*, *addition*, which should not be allowed at the Lord's Supper. There are some other things perhaps not equally to be condemned, but of such a nature as cannot be excused, as the *Chrism*, and the ceremony of *Unction*.* The *Chrism* is indeed the frivolous invention of

* Chrism—Oil consecrated by the bishop, and used in the Romish church in the administration of baptism, confirmation, ordination, and extreme unction. This last is called, in that church, a sacrament; and the oil is applied to the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, hands, feet, &c. of persons supposed to be near death.—When the oil is applied to those parts, this prayer is used. “By this holy unction, and his own most pious mercy, may the Almighty God forgive thee whatever sins thou hast committed, by the eyes, by the hearing, smelling, tasting, &c. &c.” It is not considered so essential to salvation as baptism, and is not administered to children who are not capable of actual sin. Lexici Theologici novi, &c. p. 1756 and 1757. By this, the spiritual infirmities and actual sins are supposed to be taken away, as original sin is by baptism.

those who, through ignorance, were not contented with the institutions of the Lord, and who persuaded themselves, that the Holy Spirit must be represented in baptism by the use of oil, as if the sign of water was not sufficient for that purpose. *Extreme Unction* emanated from the inconsiderate zeal of those who were desirous of emulating the Apostles, although not endowed with the gift, which they possessed. When the Apostles made use of oil, in healing the sick, it was for the purpose of testifying the miracle of the cure by that visible sign. But when the gift of miraculous powers ceased, the use of that external anointing should also have been laid aside. All those things should be abolished at once, that nothing might be imposed on the church of God, which is not conformable to his word, and which would not appertain to its edification. But so it is, the weak must be indulged, that they may be confirmed by degrees, and advanced to more excellent things. However, the work of reformation is not to be delayed, to satisfy the foolish in things which may please their fancy, unless supported by other substantial reasons. I know that many have been prevented from proceeding farther in this work from these considerations; that they feared a greater change would not be borne; and that respect must be had to the progress which others had made, with whom peace was to be cherished by passing over many things. This should certainly have an influence in the affairs of this life, in which we are permitted to give up our own rights, so far as the desire and love of peace demand. But the rule will not hold as to the discipline of the Church, which is spiritual, and in which nothing is lawful that is not according to the word of God. It is not at the pleasure of any mortal, to conform things, in this business, to gratify some and favour others, in opposition to the will of God. Nothing is more displeasing to him, than that human prudence should presume to oppose its calculations, either to moderate, abolish or retract any thing in religion, different from what his sovereign pleasure demands. Unless then we

are willing to displease him, we must shut our eyes at once against all the desires of the flesh. And as to the dangers, which may appear to threaten us, we must labour to avoid them as much as in us lies, in that way only which is lawful and right. The promise of the Lord is, that he will be present with us, while we press forward in the right path. This one thing remains, that we strenuously discharge our duties, and commit the event to him. The only reason why the wise men of this world are so often frustrated in their expectations is, that the Lord departs from them, inasmuch as they distrust his aid, and turn themselves to those artful means which God does not approve. If we would have the power of God to protect us, let us uprightly follow what he commands; and especially we must lay down this fundamental principle, that the reformation of the church is the peculiar work of his hands; and that men, in all their endeavours, should give themselves up to be governed entirely by him. And what is of more consideration is, that the Lord commonly, both in reforming and preserving his church, works in a manner, which attracts admiration by wholly surpassing all human apprehension. He will therefore, on no account, permit the work of the reformation of the church to be conducted after the model of our understandings, or that what is heavenly should be composed after the form of the wisdom of this world. I would not, however, exclude that upright prudence, the use of which is of great importance in this business, lest improper methods be adopted, and the preponderance be too great on the one hand or the other, even while we all might wish to benefit the cause. But I would have religious concerns directed by the prudence of the spirit, and not of the flesh; that we should inquire at the mouth of the Lord, pray that our understandings may be guided by his commands, and that he alone would lead and direct us in all things. In doing this, we shall easily destroy the various temptations which might delay us in the midst of our course.

Therefore, most noble lord, as you have happily entered upon the entire restoration of the Christian religion, in the kingdom of England, not depending on your own strength, but on the powerful hand of God, who has hitherto strengthened and wonderfully established you, so determine to proceed with the same confidence. And certainly, since the Lord supports, by his providence, so many kingdoms which oppose him, he will much more regard those which are rooted in him, and desire with all their efforts to take him for their supreme Lord.

I proceed to the third head, concerning suppressing vices and preventing scandals. I doubt not, but that you have correct laws and commendable regulations, adapted to preserve the people in good morals. But the great *αραξία*, *confusion*, which I observe in the world, compels me to address you on this subject also; that you may apply yourself to such measures as may hold the community in subjection to good and honourable discipline. In the first place, you should maintain the honour of God, in punishing those crimes, the prosecution of which, with men, is usually accounted unnecessary. For, while *theft*, *murder* and *robbery* are most severely punished, because they tend to injure men, *fornication*, *adultery*, *drunkenness* and *blasphemies of the name of God*, are justified as things allowable, or not deserving great severity. But God has pronounced far otherwise concerning these things. He shows how precious his name is in his sight, while it is cast out and trodden under foot with men. Nor can it be, that he will permit such horrid wickedness to go longer unpunished. We learn from the Scripture, that for a single reproach against God, of the profane kings Benhadad and Sennacherib, a dreadful judgment from him almost wholly overwhelmed both them and their armies. As it respects adultery, what a shame it is, that we, who bear the name of Christians, should be far more indifferent in punishing it than the Pagans themselves; and that crimes of this kind should be passed over with a jest. Is

the sacred union of marriage, the living image of our most holy union with the Son of God, to be thus trifled with and polluted with impunity? Shall the most indissoluble of all human contracts be so perfidiously violated? Besides, fornication, if we regard the Apostle, is to be accounted as sacrilege, since our bodies, which are the temples of God, being thus manifestly polluted, are most basely cut off from the Spirit of God, and from Christ himself. Hence he adds, that fornicators and drunkards do not belong to the kingdom of God; and expressly interdicts believers from all commerce with them. From this it follows, that such persons ought by no means to be tolerated in the church of God. If these evils are wholly passed over, they will draw down the divine scourge, with which the whole earth is shaken; for when it is so, that men pardon one another such enormous crimes, they summon against themselves the vindictive hand of God. If you wish, my lord, to avert the wrath of God, I beseech you to give the most attentive care, on your part, to suppress the commission of these sins; and to cause that those who profess Christianity may express and demonstrate the integrity of their profession, by a course of life correspondent to their holy vocation. For, as the doctrine is like the soul to animate the church, so discipline and the correction of vices ought to hold the place of those nerves, which cherish and preserve the body pure and vigorous. The bishops and curates should be especially attentive, lest the Lord's Supper be polluted, by the admission of those who are in ill repute on account of their scandalous lives. But it is above all your duty, since God has raised you to your station, for the purpose of taking care, that all the subjects, each one in his place and calling, apply their labours, and fulfil their respective duties, that the established order may be legitimately preserved.

I will not, my lord, extend the prolixity of my letter, by excuses, nor by asking your pardon for the freedom with which I have opened to you the sentiments of my heart.

Your prudence will discern the sincerity of my intentions, and your knowledge of the Scriptures will enable you, with facility, to ascertain the source from which I have drawn the preceding advice. I have no apprehension that you will be disgusted, or account me too importunate, for having shown, as clearly as my slender capacity would allow, my affectionate desire that you may extensively glorify the name of God. For this I supplicate him daily, and entreat him, that he would enrich you with his accumulated gifts; confirm you by his Holy Spirit with true and invincible constancy; protect and support you against all adversaries; cover you and yours with his shield; and so prosper your administration, that the king may have reason to celebrate his praise for having provided, in his tender years, so able a protector of himself and his kingdom. I close my letter, most humbly wishing you health and prosperity.

Your Excellency's most devoted,

JOHN CALVIN.

Geneva, October 22, 1548.

LETTER XIV.—CALVIN TO MELANCTHON.

It was a saying of the ancient satirists, *Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum*, *If nature refuses, sorrow will make verses*. It turns out far otherwise with me. My present grief is so far from giving me animation, that it almost makes me speechless. Not only the power of utterance fails me, in expressing the feelings of my mind, but I am oppressed, and almost silenced by the consideration of the subject concerning which I am about to write. You must then imagine me rather to sigh than to speak. How greatly the adversaries of Christ rejoice at your controversy with the *Magdeburgenses*,* is too evident from their mockery and sneers.

* Matthias Flacius Illyricus left Wittemberg, and went to Mag-

Those writers certainly afford a foul and detestable spectacle to God, and his angels, and to the whole church. In this business, my Philip, even if you were without fault, it would be the duty of your prudence and equity, to devise some remedy to heal the evil, or at least to afford some relief for mitigating its severity. But pardon me, if I do not wholly exculpate you from blame. From this you may be able to conjecture, how severe judgments others pass upon you, and what unfavourable and scandalous observations they make about you. Permit me, therefore, my Philip, to perform the duty of a true friend, in freely admonishing you; and if I deal with you somewhat more sharply, do not impute it to a diminution of my former respect and affection for you. Although that will not be strange or unusual to you, I am, however, more apt to offend by a rustic simplicity, than to use adulation in favour of any man. I have experienced that nothing is more acceptable to you than ingenuousness, and therefore I labour under less anxiety, lest you should take it ill, even if any thing should justly displease you, in my reproof. I wish, indeed, that all your conduct, without exception, could be approved of by me and others. But I accuse you now to your face, that I may not be obliged to assent to the declarations of those who condemn you in your absence. This is the sum of your defence, *Modo retineatur doctrinæ puritas, de rebus externis non esse pertinaciter dimicandum. Only let the purity of doctrine be preserved, and we will not pertinaciously contend about external forms.* Now, if what is every where asserted for fact is true, you extend *neutral and indifferent things* much too far. You know that the worship of God is corrupted a thou-

deburg, in April, 1549, where he began writing against the Wittenberg Divines, (Melancthon, &c.) This was the first introduction to that religious war, which opened the door for many evils, the termination of which, says Bucholtzer, in 1610, we have not yet seen. Bucholtzer Chronologia, anno 1549.

sand ways among the papists. We have removed the most intolerable corruptions. Now, the impious, that they may finish their triumph over the subjected gospel, command them to be restored. If any one refuses to admit them, will you ascribe it to obstinacy? It is well known how far this would be from your moderation. If you have yielded too much for accommodation, you cannot be surprised if many impute it to you for a fault. Besides, some of those things, which you account *indifferent*, are manifestly opposed to the word of God. Perhaps others urge some things with too much precision; and, as is usual in controversies, represent others as odious, in which there is not so much evil. But, if I understand any thing of divine truth, you have yielded too much to the papists; both because you have loosened those things which the Lord has bound by his word, and because you have given them an opportunity perversely to insult the gospel. When circumcision was still allowable, do you see Paul, because some malicious and cunning men had laid snares for the liberty of the pious, obstinately denying that that ceremony was given to them of God? Does he not, therefore, boast that he had not yielded to them, even for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might remain entire with the Gentiles? Gal. ii. 4, 5. Our adversaries do not, at this day, trouble us about circumcision; but, lest they should leave us any thing sound, they endeavour to infect, with their polluted leaven, all the doctrines and exercises of religion. You say that the Magdeburgenses contend only concerning the *linen robe*. To what this might tend, I do not know, for the use of the linen robe, with many foolish ceremonies, has been, I conceive, retained hitherto, both *among yourselves* and among them. But it is true that all honest and religious persons complain, that you have countenanced those gross corruptions, which evidently tend to vitiate the purity of the doctrines, and to weaken the stability of the church. As, perhaps, you have forgotten what I formerly said to you, I will now recall it to your mind, *That*

ink is too dear to us, if we hesitate to testify those things by our hand-writing, which so many martyrs, from the common flock, daily seal with their blood. I said, indeed, the same, when we appeared to be much farther from these assaults. Since, then, the Lord has drawn us out on the field of battle, it becomes us to contend the more courageously. Your station, you know, is different from that of most others. The trepidation of a general, or the leader of an army, is more ignominious than even the flight of common soldiers. All will condemn the wavering of so great a man as you are, as insufferable. Give, therefore, in future, a steady example of invincible constancy. By yielding a little, you have excited more complaints and lamentations than the open desertion of an hundred, in an inferior station, would have produced. Although I am firmly persuaded; that you would never be compelled, by the fear of death, to turn aside in the least from an upright course; yet I suspect that possibly another kind of fear might exercise your mind. For I know how much you dread the impeachment of barbarous harshness. But you should remember, that the servants of Christ should never regard their reputation more than their lives. We are not better than Paul, who proceeded quietly through reproach and dishonour. It is, indeed, severe and painful to be judged as obstinate and tempestuous men, who would wreck the whole world, rather than condescend to some moderation. Your ears should long since have become seasoned to these reproaches. You are not so unknown to me, nor am I so unjust to you, as to suppose that you are eager, like ambitious men, for popular applause. I doubt not, however, but that you are sometimes discouraged by reflections like these;—*What!—Is it the part of a prudent and considerate man, to divide the church on account of some minute and almost frivolous things? May not peace be redeemed by some indifferent inconvenience? What madness it is, so to defend every thing to the utmost, as to neglect the substance of the whole gospel!* When

these and such like arguments were formerly made use of by artful men, I thought with myself, that you were more influenced by them than was right; and I now ingenuously open my mind to you, lest that truly divine magnanimity, with which, otherwise, you are richly endowed, should be impeded in its operation. The reason of this my earnestness is well known to you; that I would sooner die a hundred times with you, than see you survive the doctrine which you preach. I do not say this, apprehending any danger, lest the truth of God, made known by your ministry, should ever perish, or because I distrust, in any manner, your perseverance; but because you will never be solicitous enough in your watchfulness, lest the impious artfully take that opportunity of cavilling at the gospel, which they will seize from your flexible disposition. Pardon me for unloading into your bosom these miserable although unavailing sighs. Farewell, most distinguished man, always sincerely respected by me. May the Lord continue to guide you by his Spirit, to support you by his grace, and defend you by his shield. Salute my friends, if there should be any with you. You have many here, who respectfully salute you; for many, for the sake of avoiding idolatry, have fled from France into voluntary exile in this city.

JOHN CALVIN.

LETTER XV.—CALVIN TO BUCER,

WISHES HEALTH.

Although your letter contained a mixture of good and bad news, it however gave me great satisfaction. I wish I could, in some measure at least, alleviate the sorrow of your mind, and those cares with which I perceive you are distressed. We all beseech you, again and again, not to wear yourself out without advantage. It is not, indeed, consistent with your piety, nor becoming, nor at all wished by us, that you

should be cheerful and joyous, while there are such great and multiplied causes for mourning. You ought, however, as much as possible, to preserve yourself for the Lord and the church. You have, indeed, run a long race; but you know not how much still remains to you. Perhaps I, who have advanced but a small distance from the goal, am nearer the end of my race. The direction and termination of our course are in the hand of God. That I may be still more active, amidst the dangers which threaten me on every hand, I make use of the numerous deaths, which are daily taking place before my eyes. In England, you are exercised with battles, while in this city we cherish dilatory fears. I hope, however, that your internal commotions are settled, as report says, that you have a truce with the French. I wish the conditions of a lasting peace could be established; for we see the fencing master, who is exciting the two kingdoms against each other, laughing in idleness, and watching the fortune of both, that he may attack the victor, with all his strength, and spoil the conquered without labour or bloodshed; thus triumphing over both, he will seize them as his prey. But considering the corrupt counsels which govern France, I despair of this peace. They fear the emperor beyond measure; but while they proudly despise others, they are not aware of his cunning. The Lord is surely, by this blindness, punishing their atrocious cruelty against the pious, which, as I understand, daily increases. I wish, as impiety gathers strength, and waxes more violent in France, that the English, by a rival spirit of emulation, would contend for the substance and purity of Christianity, until they see every thing established among them according to the perfect rule of Christ.

I have, as you wished, and as the present state of affairs required, endeavoured to exhort the *Lord Protector*. It will be your duty to insist, by all means, if you can obtain an audience, which I am persuaded you may, that the ceremonies which savour in the least of superstition should be abolished from the public service. This I expressly recom-

mend to you, that you may free yourself from that reproach, with which you know many have unjustly loaded you ; for the adviser of public measures is always considered as their author, or at least approver. This suspicion is so strongly fixed in the mind of some, that you will not easily erase it with your utmost exertions. Some maliciously calumniate you, without any cause. This is an evil in some measure without remedy, and you will not be able wholly to escape its influence. Care must be taken to give no cause of suspicion to the ignorant, nor any pretext for calumny to the wicked. I regret very much, that N—— is so troublesome to you without cause. I could wish him to learn some humanity. I more easily pardon him, as he appears to be carried away, not so much by his perverseness, as by a blind impulse to be observed. You cannot conceive how atrociously he abuses us and our innocent and absent friends. He inveighed especially against Viret, who was undeservedly oppressed by the iniquity of some, and the perfidy of others. He violently pursued him, as he would the most abandoned betrayer of the church. He would certainly accustom himself to mildness, if he observed the noxious intemperance of his too fervid zeal and immoderate austerity. This indignity you must receive, with other evils, with your accustomed equanimity. The church of Zurich would not approve his cause. On this subject, I disagree with you, as you think we injure our adversaries. You suppose that they never so grossly blundered, as to imagine that the body of Christ was extended every where. But you forget what Brentius among others has written, that Christ, when he lay in the manger, was glorious in heaven, *etiam secundum corpus, even bodily*. That I may speak more openly, you know that the doctrine of the Papists is more modest and sober, than that of *Amsdorf** and his followers, who were as infatuated as the priest-

* Nicholas Amsdorf died in 1541. He was a rigid adherent of

ess of Apollo. You know how inhumanly Melancthon was treated, because he maintained some moderation. These deliriums necessarily drew with them idolatry. For what purpose is the sacrament of Luther to be adored, unless that an idol might be erected in the church of God? I have earnestly desired, that all these things might be buried. I have constantly insisted also, with the greatest firmness among our neighbours,* that they should abstain from all invectives. To satisfy them I have not hesitated to condemn all those errors, without calling them by name, to which I could by no means give my assent. Concerning the word *place*, you certainly appear to argue with too much subtilty. The obscurity more severely offends others, which they say you artfully and designedly used. I am confident, however, that in this respect they err. But I do not see why you so diligently avoid what we teach, *since Christ is said to have ascended into heaven*; by which expression we understand *distances of places* to be expressed. We do not dispute whether there is *a place* in celestial glory, but whether *the body of Christ is in this world*. Since this question is clearly determined by the Scriptures, I do not hesitate to embrace it for an article of my faith. And yet, as you will find it in our book, it was granted to the moroseness of some, not without opposition; for I had tempered the expressions otherwise. As this formula which we had used contained nothing but what I thought was true, religion did not require that it should be given up for others. You piously and prudently wish, that the effect of the sacraments, and what God confers through them, should be explained more clearly and

Luther, and extravagantly asserted, *that good works were an impediment to salvation*. He was distinguished for his opposition to the Papists, and his controversy with Melancthon, who laboured to check this violent man, and to set the truth about good works in a proper light. Rees' Cyclopaedia.

* The Helvetic churches, Zurich, &c.

copiously than many will endure. The fault does not lie with me, that some things were not more distinctly illustrated. Let us lament and still submit to those things which we are not permitted to correct. You will have inclosed in this letter, a copy of the writing which they remitted to me. The two points which you feared they would reject, they willingly embraced. If others had followed the mildness of *Bullinger*, I should have easily obtained every thing I wished. It is well, however, that we agree in the truth, and hold unitedly the chief doctrines of religion. If you had accommodated *your Theses* a little only in two points, you would have rendered them most appropriate. You should have stated distinctly, *that Christ is bodily separated from us who are in this world, by the distance of places*: You should have rejected decidedly *all the inventions, by which the minds of men are hitherto drawn into superstition; and expressly vindicated the glory of the Holy Spirit and of Christ, so that their efficacy should not be transferred to the ministers, or the elements.*

The commencement of the conference, for establishing the union of opinion, presented nothing but despair. The light suddenly shone forth. The most eminent members, on their part, were desirous to communicate with other churches. We cheerfully consented. The dissension of N—— must be borne with an equal mind. Farel will write you a copious letter. Viret does not presume to write. You cannot conceive how unjustly he is treated. He salutes you most affectionately, and begs you to excuse him. My colleagues salute you with respect. There is nothing new here, except that Zurich and Bern have cut off all hopes of a league with France. Farewell, most beloved man, and my much respected father in the Lord,

LETTER XVI.—THOMAS CRANMER TO CALVIN,

SALUTEM PRECATUR.

As nothing tends more to separate the churches of God than heresies and differences about the doctrines of religion, so nothing more effectually unites them, and fortifies more powerfully the fold of Christ, than the uncorrupted doctrine of the gospel, and union in received opinions. I have often wished, and now wish, that those learned and pious men, who excel others in erudition and judgment, would assemble in some convenient place, where holding a mutual consultation, and comparing their opinions, they might discuss all the heads of ecclesiastical doctrine, and agree not only concerning the things themselves, but the forms of expression, and deliver to posterity some work, with the weight of their authority. Our adversaries are now holding their council at Trent, that they may establish their errors. And shall we neglect to call together a pious synod, that we may be able to refute their errors, and to purify and propagate the true doctrines? They, as I hear, are making decrees *περι της αετολατρειας*, *about the worship of the bread*. We ought therefore to make every effort, not only to fortify others against this idolatry, but that we also ourselves might agree on the doctrine of this sacrament. How much the dissensions and variety of opinions, about this sacrament of union, weaken the church of God, cannot escape your prudence. Although these differences may, in some places, be removed, yet I wish an agreement in this doctrine, not only about the things themselves, but also about the words and forms of expression. You have my ardent wishes, concerning which I have written to Melancthon and Bullinger, and I beg you to deliberate among yourselves, in what manner this synod can most conveniently be assembled. Farewell,

Your most beloved brother*in Christ,

THOMAS, of Canterbury.

Lambeth, March 20, 1552.

LETTER XVII.—CALVIN TO CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY, WISHES HEALTH.

Illustrious Sir,—You prudently judge, that in this confused state of the church, no remedy more appropriate can be applied, than that pious and resolute men, exercised in the school of God, should meet among themselves, and publicly profess their agreement in the doctrines of religion. We see by how many arts satan is endeavouring to destroy the light of the gospel, which has arisen by the wonderful goodness of God, and is extending its beams in every direction. The mercenary parasites of the pope do not cease their railing, to prevent the preaching of the pure word of Christ. Licentiousness so much prevails, and impiety has so increased, that religion is but a little removed from public mockery. Those who are not the professed enemies of the gospel are even now affected by that lascivious impudence, which will shortly, unless counteracted, produce among us the most shameful confusion. It is not merely among the ignorant class of men, that this feverish and foolish curiosity and immoderate impudence reign; but what is more shameful, it is much too prevalent among the order of pastors. It is too well known, with what delusive madness Osiander deceives himself, and fascinates some others. The Lord, indeed, as he has done from the beginning of the world, can wonderfully, in ways unknown to us, preserve the unity of the true faith, and prevent its destruction from the dissensions of men. It is his will however, that those whom he has appointed to watch should by no means sleep; as he has determined, by the labours of his ministering servants, to purge the pure doctrine in the church, from all corruptions, and to transmit it unblemished to posterity. It is especially your duty, most accomplished Prelate, as you sit more elevated in the watch-tower, to continue your exertions for effecting this object. I do not say this, to stimulate you afresh; as

you have already, of your own accord, preceded others, and voluntarily exhorted them to follow your steps. I would only confirm you in this auspicious and distinguished labour by my congratulation. We have heard of the delightful success of the gospel in England. I doubt not, but you have experienced the same trials, which Paul met with in his time : that the door being opened for the pure doctrine, many adversaries suddenly rise up against its reception. I know you have among you many advocates, capable of refuting the falsehoods of the adversary ; but still, the wickedness of those, who exert all their arts to make disturbance, proves that the most intense sedulity of the good will neither be too ardent nor superfluous. I know moreover, that your *purpose* is not confined to England alone ; but, at the same moment, you consult the benefit of all the world. The generous disposition and uncommon piety of his Majesty, the king, are justly to be admired, as he is pleased to favour this holy *purpose* of holding such a council, and offers a place for its session in his kingdom. I wish it might be effected, that learned and stable men, from the principal churches, might assemble in some place, and, after discussing with care each article of faith, deliver to posterity, from their general opinion of them all, the clear doctrines of the Scriptures. It is to be numbered among the evils of our day, that the churches are so divided one from another, that there is scarcely any friendly intercourse strengthened between us ; much less does that holy communion of the members of Christ flourish, which all profess with the mouth, but few sincerely regard in the heart. But if the principal teachers conduct themselves more coldly than they ought, it is principally the fault of the princes who, involved in their secular concerns, neglect the prosperity and purity of the church ; or each one, contented with his own security, is indifferent to the welfare of others. Thus it comes to pass, that the members being divided, the body of the church lies disabled.

Respecting myself, if it should appear that I could render

any service, I should with pleasure cross ten seas, if necessary, to accomplish that object. Even if the benefit of the kingdom of England only was to be consulted, it would furnish a reason sufficiently powerful with me. But as in the council proposed, the object is to obtain the firm and united agreement of learned men to the sound rule of Scripture, by which churches now divided may be united with each other, I think it would be a crime in me to spare any labour or trouble to effect it. But I expect my slender ability to accomplish this will furnish me with sufficient excuse. If I aid that object by my prayers, which will be undertaken by others, I shall discharge my part of the business. Melancthon is so far from me, that our letters cannot be exchanged in a short time. Bullinger has perhaps answered you before this. I wish my ability was equal to the ardency of my desires. But what I at first declined, as unable to accomplish, I perceive the very necessity of the business now compels me to attempt. I not only exhort you, but I conjure you, to proceed, until something shall be effected, if not every thing you could wish. Farewell, most accomplished Prelate, sincerely respected by me. May the Lord go on to guide you by his Spirit, and bless your holy labours.—
GENEVA.

LETTER XVIII.—CALVIN TO CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY, SALUTEM DICIT.

Since we can by no means expect at this time, what we so much desired, that the principal doctors, from those churches which have embraced the pure doctrines of the gospel, should assemble, and from the word of God publish a definite and luminous confession concerning all the points now controverted; I very much approve, Reverend Sir, of your design, that the English should maturely determine their religion among themselves; that the minds of the peo-

ple may no longer remain in suspense about unsettled doctrines, or rites less determined than they ought to be. It is especially your business, and that of all those who have the government in their hands, to unite your exertions to effect this object. You see what your station requires, and more imperiously demands of you, in return for the office which you hold by his favour. The chief authority is in your hand, confirmed both by the greatness of the honour, and the long established opinion concerning your prudence and integrity. The eyes of the better part are turned upon you, that they may follow your motions, or grow torpid under the pretext of your negligence. I wish they had followed you as a leader more than three years since, and avoided the present numerous contests for removing gross superstitions. I confess indeed, that since the time the gospel has seriously flourished in England, the acquisitions have been great. But if you consider how much remains to be done, and how much delay there has been in many things, you will hasten to the goal, as if a great part of your course was yet to be finished. I do not give you this admonition to assiduity in the work, lest you should indulge yourself as though it was accomplished; but to speak freely, I greatly fear, and this fear is constantly recurring to my mind; that so many autumns will be past in delaying, that the cold of a perpetual winter will succeed. The more you advance in years, the more vigorously you ought to excite yourself to action; lest leaving the world in *this confused state of things*, great anxiety should distress you from a consciousness of negligence. I call it *a confused state of things*; for the external superstitions have been so imperfectly corrected, that the innumerable remaining suckers unremittingly germinate. Indeed I hear that of the corruptions of popery such a mass remains, as not only to obscure, but almost destroy the pure and genuine worship of God. At the same time, the spirit of all ecclesiastical discipline is breathless, at least the preaching of the gospel does not flourish as it ought. Sound

religion certainly will never prevail, until the churches are better provided with qualified pastors, who may seriously discharge the office of teachers. That this may not take place, satan opposes his secret arts. But I understand that one manifest obstacle is, that the revenues of the church are exposed for pillage. This is truly an intolerable evil. Besides this waste, which is too gross, another evil, not much lighter, is that idle fellows are fed upon the public income of the church, that they may chant their *vespers* in an unknown tongue. I say nothing more, as it is more than absurd, that you should be an approver of these reproaches which are in open opposition to the legitimate order of the church. I doubt not but these things often occur to your mind, and are suggested to you by that best and most excellent man, Peter Martyr, whose advice it gives me pleasure to hear that you use. The many arduous difficulties, with which you have to struggle, appeared to me a sufficient reason for my exhortation. Farewell, excellent prelate. May the Lord long preserve you safe; enrich you more and more with the spirit of prudence and fortitude, and bless all your labours. Amen.

LETTER XIX.—CALVIN TO MELANCTHON.

Nothing could be more agreeable to me at this time than the reception of your letter of the month before last. To my great labours, which sufficiently perplex me, there is scarce a day which does not add some fresh cause for grief or anxiety. I should soon faint under the load of evils, with which I am oppressed, if the Lord was not pleased to alleviate their severity by his remedies; among which this is not a small one, in my estimation, that I know you are in usual health, as much so as your age and delicate constitution will admit; and that your letter has convinced me, that your love for me is not at all diminished. I have been told,

that you were so much offended at some of my too free admonitions, which however ought to have produced a very different effect, that you tore my letter to pieces before several witnesses. The person who related this was not indeed worthy of much credit; but as it appeared to be confirmed by various signs for a long time, I was at length constrained to suspect that some part of it might be true. From your letter I have now learned most fully, that our union still remains unimpaired; which certainly ought to be forever sacred and inviolable, as its origin was from a similar affection for piety. It is our highest interest, that the friendship which God has consecrated, by the tokens of his authority, should be cherished with confidence and constancy even until death; as in this friendship the church is deeply concerned. You see how many eyes are turned upon us. The wicked will captiously seize from our differences a handle for their reproaches; and the weak among us will be disturbed even by our most trivial opposition. It is of consequence also, that posterity should have no grounds to suspect that there was any incipient discord between us. It would be extremely absurd, after having been compelled to separate from all the world, that we should, at the very threshold, break away from each other. I know and freely confess, that I am far from being equal to you; still I am not ignorant of the elevation to which God has raised me among his people; and there is no reason that I should dissemble with you my opinion, that our friendship cannot be violated without a great injury to the church. Even if we had no other reason, estimate from your own sensibility, how distressing it would be to me, to be cut off from the man whom I affectionately love and revere; and whom God has rendered conspicuous to his whole church, by magnificently adorning him with singular gifts, and appointing him prime minister for the management of the chief concerns of his kingdom. It is certainly a wonderful and uncommon stupidity, that we should despise so easily

that sacred union between us, which would become the celestial angels to bear to each other on earth. In the mean time, the adversary continues to prepare on every hand the causes of discord. From our negligence, he takes occasion to accumulate his materials; and will soon provide his instruments for enkindling and fanning the fires.

I will relate what has taken place in this church, to the great grief of all the pious. A year has already elapsed since we have been troubled with these contests. Some unprincipled men raised a controversy with us concerning the gratuitous election of God, and the miserable servitude of the human will; and for exciting a public tumult, they found nothing more plausible, in their opposition to us, than the pretext of your name. When they had ascertained, that we were promptly prepared to refute whatever specious devices they threw out, they invented this artifice, by which they expected to overpower us, unless we would publicly separate from you. But we observed such moderation, that they wholly failed in extorting from us what they had so artfully pursued. My colleagues then with me declared, that we adhered to the same scope in doctrines, as that by which you were guided. Not a word was dropped in the whole dispute, but what was justly respectful, and tended to establish confidence in you. It was, however, the fact, that I was severely pained with the silent thought that after our death, corrupt men will be furnished with occasion of troubling the church, as often as they please, while they bring into controversy the opposite opinion of those, who should, for the sake of example, have professed one and the same thing, in the same words.

That Osiander has withdrawn himself from us, or rather, by a violent assault, made his escape, is neither a matter of surprise nor much regret. You long since experienced, that he was one of those wild animals which can never be tamed. From the day I first saw him, I always considered him as disgraceful to the cause; and I detested him as a man of

profane disposition and corrupt morals. Whenever he wished to praise sweet and generous wine, he had these words in his mouth—"I am who I am"—or—"This is the Son of the living God"—which betrayed a manifest mockery of God. Hence I have often been more astonished, that even your general moderation should cherish such a brutal man: especially I was so when I read in a preface of yours that passage where you praise him extravagantly, even after the specimen he gave us of his insanity at Worms. But let him go; he ought to be most perfectly cut off from us.* There are some others whom I should prefer to have retained. But I will omit all these things. It is no small grief to me, that our method of teaching is manifestly observed to be too discordant. I am not ignorant, that if we yield to human authority, it would be more reasonable for me to accede to you, than for you to conform to my opinion. But we are not to be guided by human authority; nor is this even to be wished from the pious ministers of Christ. We are bound, on all hand, to seek conformity to the pure truth of God. Now I candidly confess, that religion prevents me from acceding to you on this point of doctrine; as you appear to me to dispute too metaphysically concerning the freedom of the will: and in treating of election, you have no object, but to accommodate yourself to the common apprehension of mankind. For it cannot be attributed to an oversight, that a man of your acuteness, caution, and

* Mosheim states, that arrogance and singularity were the principal lines in Osiander's character. Melancthon, in his letter to Calvin, calls him a *Gorgon*, who had dangling vipers for hair, and petrified others by his aspect. He treated Melancthon with the grossest language of satire and illiberality. Melancthon's letter to Calvin is dated Oct. 1, 1552. Osiander died Oct. 17, but Calvin had not heard of his death when he wrote the above letter in November.

thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, should confound the election of God, with those promises which are common to all—*quæ sunt universæ*. Nothing is more evident, than that the preaching of the word is promiscuously common to all persons; but that the SPIRIT of faith is given by special privilege to the elect alone. The promises are common to all without exception. How then does it come to pass, that their efficacy does not equally manifest itself in all? Truly, because God does not reveal his arm to all. Nor does this point require proof with those who are tolerably versed in the Scriptures, since the promises offer the grace of Christ equally to all, and God invites, by an outward call, whosoever will, to salvation; yet faith is a special gift. It appears to me that this whole question, although embarrassed and intricate, is clearly explained in a work I have lately published.* The question is so plain, that no one of sound understanding will believe, that your disagreement is from the conviction of your own mind. At the same time, it increases my anxiety and sorrow, because I know that on this point you almost entirely differ from yourself. For I hear, when you received the formula of our union with the church of Zurich, taking a pen you erased the sentence, which cautiously and soberly distinguishes the elect from the reprobate. This was totally different from your usual moderation, not to say more. I do not, therefore, ask you to make even the attempt to read my treatise, as I apprehend it would be useless. I wish we might have an interview to converse on these things. I know your candour, frankness, and moderation; and your piety is manifested to the world and to angels. I trust, therefore, that this whole matter would be easily explained between us. If an opportunity should offer, I should be highly gratified in visiting you. But if what you

* Calvin's Treatise, concerning the eternal election of God was published in 1551. See Tract. Theol. Cal. p. 593.

fear should happen,* it will be a great consolation to me, in this wretched and mournful state of affairs, to see and embrace you before our departure from this world.

We are far from enjoying that tranquillity which you suppose. In this city, there are many labours, difficulties, and tumults. Our enemies are in sight, from whom new dangers threaten us. We are only five hours' journey from Burgundy. One may come in less than an hour from the French dominions to the gates of Geneva. But as nothing is more happy than to fight under the standard of Christ, these difficulties must not deter you from visiting us. In the mean time, you will do me a favour, by informing me of your situation, and the general condition of your church. Farewell, illustrious man, and sincerely respected brother. May the Lord protect you with his shield, direct you with his Spirit, and bless your holy labours. My colleagues and many pious and discreet men respectfully salute you. Yours,
JOHN CALVIN.

Geneva, Nov. 29, 1552.

LETTER XX.—CALVIN TO SIR JOHN CHEKE.

I have hitherto deferred writing to you, most excellent Sir, lest I should appear to seek something for which I had no inclination. Most of the friendships of the world are specious, and influenced by ambition and vanity. Few cherish sincerity; and few deserve our confidence, whose probity has not been tried. I have already often ventured to write to the king, to whom I have, with other servants of Christ, found access, by your care, under providence. For having hitherto omitted to write to you, I have a ready excuse. I apprehend that those, at whose request I wrote to

* Calvin here alludes to an apprehension which Melancthon had of being driven into exile.

him, would imagine that I had not sufficient confidence in them, if I entrusted the delivery of my letters to others; besides, there was no such familiarity between us, as would warrant me in giving you that trouble. If I have erred in this, you will be pleased to impute it to my modesty, rather than my negligence. I have long since been induced to esteem you highly, from the fame of your eminent piety and distinguished learning. This one circumstance is sufficient to conciliate to you the minds of all good men, that while England has a king of the most amiable disposition, you have, by your labour, formed him to such a maturity of virtue, beyond his age, that he has extended his hand to the troubled and most afflicted church, in these unhappy times. Surely the Lord, in dignifying you with this honour, has not only bound those to you who reap the immediate fruit of your labours, but all those who desire the church of God to be restored, or the remnants of it to be collected. In testifying the esteem for you, which I have silently cherished with myself, I am persuaded that I shall not render you an unpleasant service. In the splendour of your fortune, you have no occasion for my personal assistance; and, being contented with my humble condition, I would not, for my own sake, lay any additional burden upon you; but I would have a mutual good will cherished between us in this transitory life, until we shall enjoy substantial blessedness in heaven. In the mean time, let us labour to adorn, and, as much as in us lies, to extend and support the kingdom of Christ. We see the numerous, open and infectious enemies, whose fury is daily increased and inflamed. And of the number of those, who have given their names to the gospel, how few labour with integrity to maintain the glory of God? How much coldness, or rather how much slothfulness, prevails among most of the chief men; and finally, how great is the stupidity of the world? Your willing exertions require no foreign excitements, and I trust you will take in good part those things I have suggested, as proper for each

one assiduously to apply to himself. But this I expressly ask of you, that if at any time you shall judge, that his majesty the king may be excited by my expostulations, you will be pleased to advise and give counsel as the case may require. Farewell, most excellent and highly respected man. May the Lord guide you by his power, &c.

JOHN CALVIN.

Geneva, February 13, 1553.

LETTER XXI.—CALVIN TO MELANCTHON,

SALUTEM DICIT.

Your letter, my dear sir, gave me great satisfaction, not only because every thing that comes from you is dear to me, but because from it I understand, that the affection with which you embraced me, at our first acquaintance, still remains fixed in your heart. And especially, as you commend, with a sufficient eulogy, my endeavours to expunge the impious heresy of Servetus. From this letter I learn also, that you were not offended by the plainness and freedom of my admonitions. I wish, however, that you had treated more fully on the subject on which I wrote. I will not importunately urge you; but as far as you can with peace, I exhort you, again and again, to examine, at least with yourself, those things about which I wrote you. For, in this way, I trust you will endeavour, that some more definite form of teaching, concerning the gratuitous election of believers, than heretofore, may be agreed upon between us. *About the worship of the bread*, I have long since known the secret opinion of your mind, which you do not dissemble in your letter. But your too great tardiness displeases me, by which you not only cherish, but augment the madness of those whom you see pursuing daily, with such petulance, the destruction of the whole church. It may not seem easy to you to restrain those violent men, yet I think it would be a

light matter, if you would boldly attempt it. You know that our duties do not depend upon the hope of success, but in the most desperate cases we must do precisely what God requires of us. Your excuse does not appear a sufficient one to me, that those malevolent men would, from your appearing openly in the cause, take the probable means of overwhelming you. For what can the servants of Christ accomplish, unless they disregard hatred; pass by with indifference unfavourable reports, casting off the fear of dangers, and whatever obstacles the adversary may throw in their path; and overcome by invincible constancy? It is certain, should they even become violently mad against you, nothing awaits you more severe from them, than that you should be compelled to leave that place. This, in my opinion, you ought, for many reasons, to wish for. But as extremities of every kind are to be feared, it is your duty to resolve at once, what you owe to Christ; lest in suppressing an ingenuous profession of the truth, you afford unprincipled men, by your silence, a patronage for its destruction. In order to restrain their violence, I have again summed up, in a short compendium, the chief points of doctrine. All the Helvetic churches have subscribed it. The church of Zurich approved of it most decidedly. I now anxiously expect your opinion, and I wish very much to know what the divines of Germany may think or say of it. But if those who traduce us with such hostility do not desist from their disorderly conduct, we will endeavour to make the world hear our complaints. Farewell, most excellent man, always respected by me above others. May the Lord govern you with his Spirit, protect you with his hand, and sustain you with strength; and may he hold us in a holy union until he brings us together in his heavenly kingdom.

JOHN CALVIN.

March 5, 1555.

LETTER XXII.—CALVIN TO MARTYR, SALUTEM DICIT.

What I promised to write, concerning the secret communication which we have with Christ, I shall not perform so fully as you expected. Although the subject is of great importance, yet I think it may be sufficiently defined between you and myself in a few words. Of that communication which the Son of God hath with our nature, by assuming our flesh that he might become our brother, I shall say nothing. But I shall treat of that which emanates from his divine power, and communicates life to us, so that we are made to grow together into one body with him. At the same time that we receive Christ by faith, as he offers himself in the gospel, we are made truly members of him, and life flows unto us from him as *a capite, from the head*. In no other way does he reconcile us to God, by the sacrifice of his death, but as he is ours, and we are one with him. So I interpret the passage of Paul, where he says, the faithful are called into his *κοινωνίαν, fellowship*. 1 Cor. i. 9. Nor does the word fellowship, or partnership, appear to me sufficiently to express his mind. He would designate that sacred oneness by which the Son of God would engraft us into his body, that he might make us partakers of his fulness. We so draw life from his flesh and blood, that we may, with propriety, call them our food. How that is done, I confess, is very far above the comprehension of my understanding. I rather humbly admire, than labour to comprehend this mystery. But this I confess, that by the divine power of the Spirit, life is poured from heaven upon the earth. For the flesh of Christ does not give life of itself, nor would its efficacy reach us, but by the incomprehensible operation of the Spirit. It is the work of the Spirit, that Christ dwells in us, supports and nourishes us, and performs all the functions of a head. I preclude in this way all approach to the gross inventions about the intermixture of substances. It is

sufficient for me, that while the body of Christ remains in celestial glory, life flows from him to us, as the root transmits the nourishment to the branches. Many of the ancient fathers, especially Hilary and Cyril, I perceive, were carried away much too far. I do not so exactly follow their hyperboles, but that I will always ingenuously oppose myself to their authority, when it is made to patronize error. While they contend that Christ is *consubstantial*, *ομοουσιον*, with the Father, because it is written, *I and the father are one*; the Arians retort, what is presently added, *that they also may be one in us*. Thus are they taken in their own ignorance, and they have recourse to this miserable subterfuge, that we are of the same essence with Christ. This being confessed, they were of necessity involved in many other absurdities. But that these new fabricators may not produce against us the authority of the fathers, it will be sufficient for me to say that I do subscribe to them, that I may not willingly draw them into the controversy.

I now come to the second communication, which I consider as the effect and fruit of the former. For after Christ, by the internal operation of the Spirit, has subdued and united us to himself in his body, he continues to us a second operation of the Spirit, by which he enriches us with his gifts. If, therefore, we are strong in hope and patience, if we soberly and temperately abstain from the enticements of this world, if we earnestly endeavour to conquer the lusts of the flesh, if our zeal for righteousness and piety strengthens, if we are delighted and elevated with the meditation of a future life; this, I say, proceeds from that second communication, by which Christ, who does not idly dwell in us, proves the efficacy of his Spirit in manifest gifts. Nor is it absurd that Christ, when we are united to his body, should communicate to us his Spirit, by whose secret operation he was first made ours; since the Scripture often attributes both these effects to his agency. But although the faithful come to this communion at the very time of their vocation;

yet in as much as the life of Christ increases in them, he daily offers himself to be enjoyed by them. This is the communication which they receive in the Lord's Supper. I should explain this more fully to any one, whom I wished to instruct; but to you I have summed it up briefly, merely that you might see that we are of the same opinion. Farewell, most distinguished man, always respected by me in the Lord. Salute Sturmius, Zanchus and other friends affectionately. May the Lord always guard you, guide you by his Spirit, and follow you with his blessing.

JOHN CALVIN.

Geneva, August 8, 1555.

LETTER XXIII.—CALVIN TO MELANCTHON.

Most distinguished man,—You indeed observe, with correctness and sagacity, that the only object of our adversaries is to exhibit themselves to the public. But, however, I hope, and it is credible, that their expectation will be greatly disappointed. Should they still bear off the applause of the whole world, we must be more anxiously diligent to seek the approbation of our heavenly Judge, under whose eyes we contend. What? Will the holy assembly of angels, who excite us by their presence, and point out the way of strenuous exertion by their example, permit us to be slothful, or move with a delaying step? What the whole company of the holy fathers? Will they not stimulate us to exertion? What, moreover, the church of God, now in the world? When we know that she is fighting for us by her prayers, and is animated by our example, will her assistance avail nothing with us? Let these be my spectators, I will be contented with their approbation. Though the whole world should hiss me, my courage shall not fail. Far be it from me to envy these flashy and boisterous men the glory of a laurel, in some obscure corner, for a short time. I am not ignorant of what the world applaud as praise-worthy, or

condemn as odious. But it is the whole of my concern, to follow the rule prescribed by my Master. Nor do I doubt but that this ingenuousness will, on the whole, be more pleasing to the pious and faithful, than that soft and complying method of instruction, which argues an empty mind. The obligation which you acknowledge yourself under to God and his church, I beseech you to discharge with all diligence. I do not insist upon this, for the purpose of freeing myself, and loading you with a great part of their hatred. By no means. I would rather, if it could be, from my love and respect for you, receive on my own shoulders whatever load may already oppress you. It is your duty to consider, although I did not admonish you, that you will with difficulty discharge that obligation, unless you promptly deliver from hesitation those pious men, who are looking up to you for instruction. Moreover, if that proud and blustering man, on the banks of the Danube, does not arouse you to exertion, all will justly accuse you of sloth and indifference. Farewell, most excellent and sincerely respected man. May Christ, the faithful Shepherd of his people, be always present, guide and defend you. Amen. Salute Camerarius, and other friends at Wittemberg, in my name.

JOHN CALVIN.

Geneva, August 22, 1555.

LETTER XXIV.—CALVIN TO BULLINGER, S. D.

It is known that unfavourable rumours are industriously propagated about us, by the artifice of those, who wish to screen themselves by rendering us every where odious. On this account, you will render us a favour, if you will take care, that an abridgment of what I now write be stated to your most illustrious senate. And also, if it will not be too much trouble, I wish that you would send this part of my letter to our brethren, the ministers of the church of Schaffhausen, that they may, among their people, exculpate this

city from unfounded calumnies. The whole affair stands thus:—

In the senate were two men, wicked and malicious to the highest pitch of impudence. They were both of them poor and hungry. One is called Perrin, the other Vandellius. The former, being captain-general of the city, had, by proposing impunity to all crimes, conciliated to himself the very refuse of the wicked. When any crimes were committed by the obstinate, the lewd, and the dissolute, he immediately patronized them, that the penalty of the laws should not be enforced. The other was his faithful coadjutor in all these things. They bound to their purpose a part of the senate by their flatteries. They affrightened into submission to them some sordid creatures, who could not hold their office but by their favour. Their family connections espoused their cause, merely on account of their relationship. In this manner, their power in the upper senate had grown so strong, that scarce any dared to resist their inclinations. In fact, for several years, the legal decisions have been entirely in their power; and their scandalous breaches of justice have been abundantly manifest. The city not only saw this, but, by their means, we were evilly reported among our neighbours, and among foreigners. Very many openly opposed them, as they were often vexed and torn to pieces by their atrocious improbities. If any one, however, who despised their power, exposed their crimes, they were prompt to take their revenge. They readily passed over whatever was said by their equals. By the continuance of these things, many contracted habits of servitude to their measures. All the edicts lay dead upon the records. No one who was favoured by these men had any thing to fear from the laws, or from shame. The judges and the prefect of the city were annually chosen entirely by their will. Their outrage was, however, at length carried to such an excess, that the people themselves, after having elected, by their suffrages, I know not what refuse, the very basest dregs, became alarmed at

their own disgrace. This was confessed by all on the last year, that if the election had been given up to the enemies of the city, they could not have called into office, from the mob itself, men more disgraceful. But now, as formerly, if the upper senate transgress their will, the council of two hundred are in the habit of bringing relief to their crimes and corruptions. For these men contrived to throw into this body many of the lowest characters; some of whom were turbulent and blustering young men, and others were base and dissolute in their manners. And lest their power should fail them, disregarding the order of the number, they forcibly introduced into the multitude, all those persons whom they supposed to be devoted to their interest. This licentiousness at length became so extensive, that certain persons obtruded themselves into the senate, without any election by that body. This was the faction who, seeing the judicatory of the church opposed to them, and their unbridled impunity in all crimes exposed, excited a contest with us concerning excommunication, that they might destroy the last remains of discipline. They desisted not from turning every thing upside down, till with great difficulty we obtained, that at least advice should be asked of the Helvetic churches. But as your answer destroyed the hopes and purposes of the wicked, our condition was, from that circumstance, a little more quiet. Still, however, they were watching for new opportunities, and having dismissed all shame, they attempted to break down all restraints. But, as it was troublesome to us to be in continual agitation, we ventured to importune them to determine something that might be depended upon as an established order of things. In this thing the Lord wonderfully frustrated their purposes. For in the promiscuous suffrages of the multitude, we had the majority. Soon after this, the assembly was held for the election of Syndics, at which a most unexpected change of public opinion appeared. At this time, the wicked became openly outrageous, for they saw themselves once more reduced to order. They now rashly un-

dertook and attempted many things, to destroy the government. We were satisfied barely to restrain or defeat their exertions without tumult. But as it was no secret, that they were anxious, beyond measure, for a revolution, the senate determined to oppose the best defence against their licentious rage. Of the French, who had resided here for a long time, whose probity was well known, a number, perhaps about fifty, were admitted to the right of citizenship. The faction perceived how much stronger this addition would render the hands of the good. They determined, therefore, to leave no stone unturned, to defeat this counsel. The business was discussed among themselves in the streets, and the wine shops, and also in the houses of some individuals. When they had drawn over certain persons to their purpose, they began to rise not only in complaints, but in open threats. By secret collusion, the prefect of the city was induced, with a large but base and shameless train, to enter the council-room, and denounce the senate if they proceeded. A great part of this mob was made up of sailors, fishermen, kitchen servants, butchers, vagrants, and persons of such like condition; as if the city could not defend its rights without such patriots. The senate answered, in a dignified manner, that they had attempted no innovation; but had proceeded in the order sanctioned by the most ancient usage of the city; that it was an insufferable indignity, to endeavour to destroy the ancient customs, to force from the order of citizens those who had for a long time honourably dwelt among them, and finally, to attempt to wrest from the senate the authority which had, from the remotest antiquity, been committed to their hands. But as the senate thought best to proceed without violence, they offered pardon, for this time, to the public conspirators. They however severely reprov'd the prefect, for using his influence in behalf of so abandoned men, in so unjust a cause. The senate, at the same time, decreed to convoke the council of two hundred. When

they were assembled, the authority of the upper senate was sanctioned; and it was determined, that they might henceforward admit as citizens such of the French residents as they should judge proper. But before the lower senate had decreed this last clause, the violent fury of these fellows burst forth in such a manner as to prove, that they were determined to cast themselves headlong, into all extremities, as in a desperate case. It was now the city was almost brought to a general slaughter, in a nocturnal tumult. The day before that on which it happened, a dinner, free of expense, was given to many of those unprincipled men. The leaders, however, feasted in a different place. Vandellius bore the expense of the dinner, and Perrin of the supper. Their runners were flying about in all directions. Many unfavourable omens were observed. The steady inhabitants were, not without cause, concerned for themselves. It is the custom in this city, after the *watches* are stationed at the gates, that the captain of the watch goes the round to examine the sentries. Each senator performs this office in his turn. The watch of this night being stationed in the centre of the city, they heard an outcry at a small distance. In that quarter, behind the merchants' shops, some one being struck with a stone, cried out that he was killed. The watch ran together instantly to discharge their duty. Two brothers encountered them, who were of the company of Perrin and Vandellius; men of the lowest class, being butchers, who had supped on free cost at the same table. From this circumstance it became evident, that this outcry was made by agreement, otherwise two men only would not have dared to attack the watch who were armed. They both indeed confessed this to be the fact, to the judges, and to many others, and to me also in private. But yet, when they were taken to punishment, they denied that this outcry was made as the signal for a mob. They were however convicted, by so many proofs, that their impudence was of no avail. They did not at all

deny, that on the same day, between the dinner and supper, they accompanied Perrin, of their own accord, to a neighbouring village; that while they were on their way there, mention was made of five hundred armed men, who were to be called from some other place, to guard the city; that when the same subject was introduced at the afternoon's repast, Perrin, when the mechanics came in, repressed the conversation, commanding silence, *schwick, schwick*, in German; and that as this village was without the jurisdiction of Geneva, he said that an asylum and support were there prepared for any who should commit any capital crime in the city.

Upon the apprehension of those two men, (the tumult increasing) one of the Syndics, who lived near the place, appeared with lighted torches, and the staff which was the badge of his office. The reverence of this people was always so great for this sacred staff, that by its appearance the greatest mobs were dispersed, and when slaughter was threatened, the violence was restrained by its influence. One of these brothers, with a drawn sword, encountered the Syndic. The Syndic, relying on the badge of his authority, seized him, that he might commit him to prison. Many of the factious flew to his assistance. Every light was extinguished. They declared, that they would not suffer their good companion to be carried to prison. Perrin came at this moment. He at first dissembled attempts to pacify them, and seized the staff of the Syndic, whispering in his ear, *it is mine and not yours*. The Syndic, though a man of small stature, would not give it up, but struggled boldly, and with all his strength. While these things were going on, a clamour was raised in every direction, through all the streets of the city, as it would seem, in a moment; *the French are in arms—the city is betrayed by treachery—the house of the senator, the prefect of the watch is filled with armed men.*—It was thus these emissaries tumultuously assembled those whom they knew to be on their side.

Perrin, as soon as he believed his band sufficiently strong, began to vociferate, *the Syndical staff is ours—for I hold it*. This was not answered by a single testimony of applause, although he was surrounded by the conspirators. Thus it is evident, that they were restrained by some providential influence. Confounded with shame, and equally terrified, Perrin by degrees recovered himself. But falling upon another Syndic, a kinsman of his by marriage, he forcibly seized his staff. He complained that the rights of the city were violated in the attack made upon him, and called for assistance. As the mob had the superiority in arms, no one raised a finger, or moved a step, at the Syndic's complaint. But a certain reverence again prevented the vilest from applauding this act of Perrin. At length, forced by fear, he privately returned the staff. At this time, many of the conspirators were in arms. One voice resounded every where—*the French must be killed—they have betrayed the city*. But the Lord watched over these unhappy exiles, and so held them in sleep that they heard none of these horrid outcries; or so supported them that they did not fear the threatened danger. None of them left their houses. And thus, by the interposition of God, the purpose of the wicked was defeated, as no one offered himself to the combat. For they had determined, as was afterwards well known, if any attacked them, to defend themselves; that some being slain, they would proceed in battle array against others, as if the sedition had been raised by us. They not only threatened those who had taken up their residence here, but they exclaimed, that their patrons also should be slain, and that punishment should be inflicted upon the senate. In this affair, you may see the clemency of our senate, who, when the authors of this nefarious uproar were apprehended and convicted, not only spared their lives, but abstained even from moderate chastisements, so that they were not indeed corrected by whipping. The Syndics, having ordered the senate to be con-

voked, ran quickly from one part of the city to the other. The wicked, however, relying upon their multitude, not only to elude and despise their authority, but also to abuse them with insults, left very small hopes of a remedy. However, by divine interference, beyond all our expectations, the violence of the tempest began to moderate by degrees. The next day it was decreed, that inquiry should be made concerning the public violence. The Syndics took up three days in examining the witnesses. That no one should say, he was pressed to a false testimony, they assembled the council of two hundred; and while the testimonies were recited, the conspirators themselves sat among the judges. As it appeared that any one was concerned in the crime, or laboured under unfavourable suspicions, he was ordered to leave the senate room, as he could not with integrity give his opinion. But Perrin, seeing his wickedness would be detected, with three others, made his escape by flight. The lower senate, justly exasperated at the indignity of this outrage upon good order, decreed that the crime of this conspiracy ought to be severely punished. They exhorted the upper senate, who have the power of passing sentence, strenuously to exact exemplary punishment. The fugitives were summoned by the principal sheriff, and then by a public crier, according to custom; and this was done by the sound of trumpet for fifteen days. By their letters, they declared that they would not appear, unless the public faith was pledged for their security. But it would have been very absurd, to absolve, by a law as privileged persons, those criminals who ought to defend their cause in chains. On the appointed day, five were condemned. But before the judges pronounced sentence, they recited, in a public assembly, the crimes of those whom they were obliged to hold convicted, since they refused, when summoned, to appear and defend their innocence upon trial. Then they produced the confession of those, who were punished, and who are still in prison. It is very

evident, that they are too dangerous and too wicked, to be permitted to escape by any subterfuge. Yet they are shameless enough to persist in spreading opprobrious reports; that they are oppressed by unjust hatred; that they defended the rights of the city against the French; and that the senate was devoted to the French. As if the council of two hundred, by whose previous judgment they were sentenced, were not the people. As if they were driven from the city by force of arms. As if the people, believing them to be the patrons of their liberties, would quietly permit them to be oppressed with such severe injuries. But so true is it, on the other hand, that by their flight, all the tumults were composed; the cloudy and tempestuous atmosphere, which they had drawn over the city, was dispersed; the laws resumed their force, and tranquillity was restored to the people. Those persons who came to entreat for them, at their request, saw most evidently, that the city was no longer divided by discord, nor disturbed by contentions; and that the punishment decreed against them was approved by the deliberate opinion of all. Possessed of the most consummate impudence, they not only extenuate the crimes which they have admitted, but with futile cavils, boast that those crimes were made up out of nothing. It is by no means difficult to confute these assertions. They declare it is not probable, that when they had a large mob under their power, they should rush to arms without a strong guard. As if it was a rare and unfrequent example, that the wicked are blinded, and thrown headlong by their madness. And certainly, whatever they may pretend, it was manifest madness that drove one in a back yard, to knock down a man with the stroke of a stone, from whence the outcry began. The same infatuation also induced the two brothers to make an attack upon the watch, who were armed with drawn swords. And, moreover, that they should petulantly contemn and mock the authority of the syndics, to disobey whom was always a capital crime, is an evident

proof, not merely of sudden fury, but of audaciousness before conceived, and among themselves long determined upon. Whence originated this unanimous outcry among them all, that the city was betrayed by the French, unless they had conspired together for this very purpose? Unless they had, by special agreement, given out this watch-word, how could it be that in the most distant parts of the city, this outcry, made up of nothing, should be joined in at the same moment? How came it to pass, that the wife of that same Vandellius ran to the doors of all those whom she supposed to be of their party, accusing the French of treason? But this is what one of Perrin's followers confessed, who was more intimate with him than any one else, that those two leaders of sedition, four or five days before, conversed about it between themselves. "Why," said Perrin, "do we remain idle, when we shall shortly be punished for our cowardice? It is now three years since the enemies have conspired together to effect our ruin. They placed me first on the list. We must, therefore, be hand in hand with them. A specious pretext is now offered us. We will say that it is not for the interest of the republic to grant to so many rights of citizenship. We shall obtain nothing from the upper senate or the two hundred. *We will appeal to the people, Ad populum provocabimus.* The multitude will unite with us against the will of the syndics. We will suborn the men of our party, to raise a tumult. There will be no difficulty in taking off our enemies; only let us be daring, and the victory is ours." This intimate of Perrin, who is almost the very shadow of the man, repeated this testimony four times.

Let those men deny that they were justly condemned, who proposed to butcher in the midst of the assembly of the people, and in the holy place, two of the syndics, some of the senators, and some of the most worthy and innocent of the citizens. I say nothing of myself, as they take it for granted

that I am their enemy. What Perrin said, about my conspiring their ruin, is not worthy of an answer.

The senate have not as yet pronounced sentence against Vandellius. But his guilty conscience has driven him from the city. From these facts it will be manifest, that in this great tumult, the same moderation has been regarded, as is usual in the most quiet state of affairs; and that nothing has been done against those wicked men, either artfully or without due consideration. If you were here, you would say, that our senate have proceeded with too much forbearance and remissness. But it is better to err on this side than on the other, lest any one absurdly complain, that it was cruel, and done in the heat of passion. God grant that the remembrance of so great a deliverance may awaken us to unremitting gratitude, and bind us with diligent assiduity to the duties of our office. When I began to write this letter, I had no expectation of its being carried by our brother Othoman. For although he had spoken of his journey, he was then uncertain whether he should go directly to Zurich, and I had determined to procure another messenger. It happens well, and affords me much pleasure, as he will be able to explain more fully any circumstance which I may have expressed with too much obscurity, from endeavouring to be concise. You have twice exhorted me to patience in my station; but I think I have borne very patiently so many indignities, and passed them in silence, that while I restrained my passions, I appeared to be wanting in resolution. I wish by my silence, and apparent indifference, I could have pacified those who do not cease to hate me, nor to rage against all our good citizens. But although they are the more enraged on account of my moderation, I am determined to pursue one steady course. I am happy to hear that N—— has obtained an office in which he may be useful. May the Lord grant him grace to discharge its duties with faithfulness. Salute, in my name, your fellow ministers, your wife and family. Farewell, illustrious man and respected

brother. May the Lord continue to direct you by his Spirit,
and bless your labours. Yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

Geneva, June 15, 1555.

LETTER XXV.—JOHN CALVIN TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL,

SECRETARY TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

For writing to you familiarly, most accomplished man, I shall not make a long apology, although I am personally unknown to you. Relying on the testimony of some pious persons, who have declared to me your generosity of heart, I trust that you will be disposed to receive my letter with pleasure; especially when you shall discover from the perusal my intention in writing. Since the awful darkness which had almost stupified the minds of pious men is dispersed, and the clear light has suddenly shone forth beyond all hope, it is reported that you, possessing distinguished favour with her majesty the queen, have endeavoured diligently to remove the profligate superstitions of Popery, which had accumulated through four years in England,* so that the sincere doctrines of the gospel, and the pure and entire worship of God, again flourish. I have now therefore to exhort you freely and openly to commence your warfare for Christ. This one thing however remains, that what you do, you should proceed to do with the greatest activity and most invincible constancy. Your holy labours should neither be

* This period embraces the persecuting reign of queen Mary, who succeeded Edward VI. October, 1553, and died November, 1558. Cecil was first promoted by the duke of Somerset, and became a distinguished lawyer; and by his moderate and temporizing conduct, during Mary's bloody reign, he escaped punishment, and continued in England, till, on the accession of Elizabeth, he was made secretary of state.

broken by any troubles, difficulties, contests or terrors, nor even in the least degree retarded. I doubt not, indeed, but that obstacles sometimes encounter you; and that dangers rise full before your eyes, which would dishearten the most resolute, unless God should sustain them by the most wonderful power of his Spirit. This is the cause, for the defence of which it is not lawful for us to decline the most arduous labours. During the time that the public place of execution was appropriated for burning the children of God, you yourself remained silent among others. At least then, since greater liberty is restored by the singular and incredible favour of God, it becomes you to take courage; and if you was, during that period, too timid, you may now compensate that loss by the ardour of your zeal. I know very well that a preposterous haste is injurious; and that many retard their progress by an inconsiderate and precipitate zeal, with which they would leap in a moment to the end of their race. But on the other hand, it is faithfully to be considered, that to maintain the whole truth and pure devotion of the gospel, is the work which God assigns us, and which must not be slothfully undertaken. From the present state of things, you are better able to judge, what steps are proper to be pursued, and what degree of moderation is to be exercised. But you will remember, that all delay, with however specious colours it may be covered, ought to excite your suspicion. One fear, I conjecture, is from popular tumults, since among the nobles there are many who would kindle up the fire of sedition; and if the English become tumultuous among themselves, their neighbours are at hand, who anxiously watch for whatever opportunity may offer for their purpose. But as her most serene majesty has been wonderfully raised to the throne, by the hand of God, she cannot otherwise prove her gratitude, than by shaking off all delays by her prompt alacrity, and surmounting all impediments by her magnanimity. Since it can hardly be otherwise, but that, in the present turbulent and confused state of things, her attention should be

suspended among important affairs, her mind perplexed and sometimes wavering; I have ventured to exhort her, that, having entered the right course, she should persevere with constancy. Whether I have done this prudently or not, let others judge. If, by your endeavours, my admonition produces the desired effect, I shall not repent of having given her that counsel. Consider also, most illustrious sir, that God has placed you in that degree of favour and dignity which you hold, that you might be wholly attentive to this concern, and stretch every nerve to the accomplishment of this work. And lest slothfulness by any means creep upon you, let it now and then come into your mind of what great moment are these two things: First, in what manner that religion, which was miserably fallen away; that doctrine of salvation, which was adulterated by abominable falsehoods; that worship of God, which was polluted with defilements, may recover their lustre, and the Church be cleansed from this abomination? Secondly, how the children of God among you may be free to invoke his name in sincerity; and how those who are dispersed may be again collected? Farewell, most excellent man, sincerely respected by me. May the Lord guide you by his Spirit, protect and enrich you with all good gifts.

JOHN CALVIN.

Geneva, January 29, 1559.

LETTER XXVI—CALVIN TO OLEVIANUS.*

As it may perhaps be of some assistance to you, I will

* Gaspar Olevianus, of Treves, first studied jurisprudence; but in attempting to save from drowning some rash young men, who had upset their boat, he fell into extreme danger, and made a vow, that if God would deliver him, he would, if called to it, preach the gospel. He escaped, and began first to read the Commentaries of Calvin; he then went to Geneva, and studied theology under

give you a summary of our mode of government in this church.

1. The ministers are chosen from our college. A passage of Scripture is given them, by the interpretation of which they exhibit a specimen of their abilities; then an examination is held upon the principal heads of doctrine; after this they preach before us, as though they were in the presence of the people. Two senators are also present. If their qualifications are approved, we present them to the senate with the testimony. It is in the power of this body not to admit them, if they judge them to be unqualified. If they are received, (as they have been always hitherto,) their names are published *coram populo, in presence of the people*; and any one who knows any thing against them is at liberty to object to them within eight days. Those who are approved by the tacit suffrages of all, we recommend to God and to the church.

2. We baptize infants only at public meetings; because it is absurd that this solemn reception *of them by the church*, should have only a few witnesses. The parents, unless something prevents, are directed to be present, that they may answer in the covenant together with the *fidejussoribus, sureties*.* No one, however, is admitted as a *surety*, unless of the same religious profession with us. Excommunicated persons are also prohibited this honour.

3. No one is admitted to the holy supper of Christ, be-

the instruction of that eminent divine. In 1560, he was professor at Heidleberg, in the University of Wisdom, from which place he wrote to Calvin for the laws of the Genevese Consistory. The above letter is the answer of Calvin. Olevianus died minister of Herborn in Germany, 1587, aged 57. . Melchior Adams, in *Vita Oleviani*, p. 596.

* St. Augustine, who died A. D. 430, says that this custom was adopted in the church, on account of infant slaves presented by their masters; of infants whose parents were dead; and of those

fore making a public profession of his faith. For this purpose, we have annually four examinations, at which the youth are interrogated, and the proficiency of each one is known. For although at the catechism on each Lord's day, they begin before to give some testimony, yet it is not lawful for them to come to the holy table, until it is known, by the opinion of the minister, that they have made some tolerable proficiency in the principal doctrines of religion. As it respects those who are older, we repeat annually the inspection of each family. We distribute among *ourselves* the different parts of the city, so that we can examine in order every ward. The *minister* is accompanied by one of the church elders. At this time the new inhabitants are examined. Those who have been once received, *at the Supper*, are omitted; except that we examine whether their families are in peace and good order; whether they have contentions with their neighbours; whether they are given to intemperance; and whether they are indifferent and slothful in attending public worship.

4. For the discipline of morals, this method is observed: twelve church elders are annually chosen; two from the upper senate; the other ten from the council of two hundred, either natives or naturalized citizens. Those who

whom their parents abandoned. In all ordinary cases, parents answered for their children. Wall's Hist. Bap. vol. i. In the reformed churches, as there was no commandment from God for sureties at baptism, they made no rule to bind parents to have them, except in cases where one or both parents were Papists, or when children of Saracens, or of the gypsies, were offered. So also it was required, that a mother, or a woman, in presenting a child, should have a surety, to secure the religious education of the child. The Presbyterian and Congregational churches now consider the church, which receives a child, to be the surety, together with the parent or presenting person, for the religious education of the child. See Quick's Synod. vol. i. p. 45.

honestly and faithfully perform their duty are not removed from office, unless when occupied by other concerns of the republic. After the election, before they take their seats, their names are published to the people, that if any one should know them to be unworthy, he may declare it in season.

5. No one is summoned to the ecclesiastical tribunal, unless by the general opinion of all the board; therefore each one is asked, whether he has any thing to offer? No one is summoned, unless he has refused compliance with private admonitions, or brought scandal on the church by an evil example. For instance, blasphemers, drunkards, fornicators, strikers, quarrellers, dancers, who lead in balls, and such like, are called *before the Censura Morum*. Those who commit lighter offences are dismissed with the correction of mild reproof. Greater sins are reprov'd with sharper severity; for the minister excludes them, at least for a short time, from the Supper, until, upon their asking forgiveness, they are reconciled to the church. If any one obstinately despises the authority of the church, unless he desist from his stubbornness before a year is past, he is thrown into exile by the senate for a year. If any one proves more perverse, the senate takes up the cause and inflicts the punishment. Those who, for the sake of redeeming their lives from the papists, have abjured the doctrines of the gospel, or attended mass, are ordered to appear before the church. The minister from the pulpit sets forth the matter. Then the excommunicated person falls on his knees, and humbly implores forgiveness.—Such is the procedure of the consistory, that it in no way interferes with the course of civil jurisdiction. And that the people may not complain of any unreasonable rigour, the ministers are not only subject to the same punishments, but if they commit any thing worthy of excommunication, they are also at the same time deposed. JOHN CALVIN.

Geneva, November 5, 1560.

A

CATALOGUE

OF

JOHN CALVIN'S WRITINGS.

Commentaries in Latin and French.

Commentaries on Genesis.
On the other Four Books of Moses, in the form of a Harmony.
On Joshua.
On the Psalms.
On Isaiah.
On Jeremiah.
On the twenty first Chapters of Ezekiel.
On Daniel.
On the twelve minor Prophets.
On the three Evangelists, in the form of a Harmony.
On John.
On the Acts of the Apostles.
On the Epistles of Paul.
On the Epistle to the Hebrews.
On the Canonical Epistles of Peter, John, James, and Jude.

Published Sermons, which were taken down when delivered.

Three Homilies concerning the Sacrifice of Abraham.
Sermons on Deuteronomy.
Sermons on Samuel.
Sermons on Job.
Sermons on the Decalogue.
Sermons on the 119th Psalm.
Sermons on Hezekiah's Song.
Sermons on the last eight Chapters of Daniel.
Sermons on the beginning of the Harmony of the three Gospels.
Sermons on the 10th and 11th Chapters of the 1st Corinthians.
Sermons on the Galatians.
Sermons on the Ephesians.
Sermons on the Epistles to Timothy and Titus.
Sermons on the Birth, Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus Christ.
Four Sermons treating on subjects very useful for our times.

Sermons on the Providence of God and Eternal Election, made to the congregation.

Sermon on a passage in the Epistle to the Galatians, and an explanation of the last article of the Lord's Prayer, made to the congregation.

Sermons which have not been printed.

Sermons on Genesis.

Sermons on the first 18 Chapters of the 1st of Kings.

Sermons on many of the Psalms.

Sermons on Isaiah.

Sermons on Jeremiah.

Sermons on Ezekiel.

Sermons on seven of the minor Prophets.

Sermons on the Harmony of the three Evangelists.

Sermons on the Acts of the Apostles.

Sermons on the two Epistles to the Corinthians.

Sermons on the two Epistles to the Thessalonians.

Sermons on some Chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

A short explanation of the Book of Joshua, made to the congregation.

Lectures on the Psalms, from the 37th to the last.

Catalogue of other printed works.

Commentaries on Seneca, concerning Clemency, in Latin.

Congratulation to the Rev. Mr. Gabriel Saconay, Precentor of the Church at Lyon—French.

Answer to a certain Dutchman.—French.

Answer to Anthony Cathalan.—French.

The following Works are written in Latin and French.

The Institutes of Religion.

Psychopannychia, a Treatise against the error of those who believe the Soul sleeps from Death until the Resurrection.

Two Letters, one on attending Mass, and the other on the Duty of a Christian.

Answer to Cardinal Sadolet's Letter.

Treatise on the Lord's Supper.

Song of Victory, sung to Jesus Christ.

Catechism.

Form of administering the Sacraments, public Prayer, Form of Marriage.

An Answer to Pighius.

Remarks on the fatherly Admonitions of Paul III. to the Emperor Charles V.

Antidote against the Articles of the Sorbonne.

On the Necessity of Reforming the Church.
 On the Errors of the Anabaptists and Libertines.
 On the Reliques of Saints.
 On avoiding Superstitions.
 Answer to the Nicodemites.
 Antidote against the Council of Trent.
 The true way of securing the Peace of the Church, and its Re-
 formation, in Answer to the Interim.
 An Exhortation against Judicial Astrology.
 Harmony of the Sacraments.
 Treatise on Scandals.
 On the Eternal Predestination and Providence of God.
 Defence of the Trinity against Servetus.
 Three Exhortations to Westphal.
 Against Heshusius and Stancar.
 Against Valentin Gentilis.
 An Answer to the Calumnies of Castellio.
 A brief Answer to other Calumnies of Castellio.
 Answer to a Changeling Mediator.
 Answer to Baldwin.
 Exhortation to the faithful in Poland.
 A Letter for strengthening this Exhortation.
 Confession of Faith in the French Reformed Churches, various
 Letters, Answers, Exhortations, Advices, in one volume, folio.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

POPES AND SOVEREIGNS OF FRANCE, ENGLAND
 AND GERMANY,

DURING THE LIFE OF CALVIN.

POPES.

Julius II.	died March, 1513.
Leo X. created March, 1513,	December, 1521.
Adrian VI. January, 1522,	October, 1523.
Clement VII. December, 1523,	October, 1534.
Paul III. October, 1534,	November, 1549.
Julius III. February, 1550,	April, 1555.
Marcellus II. April, 1555,	May, 1555.
Paul IV. June, 1555,	September, 1559.
Pius IV. January, 1559,	December, 1565.

KINGS OF FRANCE.

Lewis XII.		died 1515.
Francis I.	crowned 1515,	1547.
Henry II.	1547,	1559.
Francis II.	1559,	1560.
Charles IX.	1560,	1574.

KINGS AND QUEENS OF ENGLAND.

Henry VIII. crowned	1509,	died January, 1547.
Edward VI.	February, 1547,	July, 1553.
Mary,	October, 1553,	November, 1558.
Elizabeth,	January, 1559,	March, 1603.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.

Maximilian,	- - - - -	died 1515.
Charles V. of Spain, crowned	1519,	resigned 1556.
Ferdinand I. succeeded him, and died		1564.

PRINCIPAL REFORMERS,

COTEMPORARIES WITH CALVIN.

Ulrick Zuinglius, died	- - - - -	1531.
John Ecolampadius,	- - - - -	1531.
Martin Luther,	- - - - -	1546.
Philip Melancthon,	- - - - -	1560.
Wolfgang Capito,	- - - - -	1541.
Martin Bucer,	- - - - -	1551.
Henry Bullinger,	- - - - -	1575.
Thomas Crammer,	- - - - -	1556.
William Farel,	- - - - -	1565.
Peter Viret,	- - - - -	1571.
John Alasco,	- - - - -	1560.
Jerome Zanchius,	- - - - -	1590.
Peter Martyr,	- - - - -	1562.
Theodore Beza,	- - - - -	1605.
John Knox,	- - - - -	1572.

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THE END.

J.B.



